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GEOGRAPHY

THE

EXAMINATION

OF THE

WITH MODERN GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

OXFORD

BY THE

EXAMINERS

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

OXFORD

BY

JAMES BENNETT, F.R.S.

BY JAMES BENNETT, F.R.S.

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

OXFORD

AND

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF

OXFORD

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THE  
**GEOGRAPHICAL SYSTEM**  
OF  
**HERODOTUS**

EXAMINED AND EXPLAINED,  
BY A  
COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF OTHER ANCIENT AUTHORS,  
AND  
WITH MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK ARE INTRODUCED  
DISSERTATIONS  
ON THE ITINERARY STADE OF THE GREEKS, THE EXPEDITION OF DARIUS  
HYSTASPES TO SCYTHIA, THE POSITION AND REMAINS OF ANCIENT  
BABYLON, THE ALLUVIONS OF THE NILE, AND CANALS OF SUEZ;  
THE OASIS AND TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMMON, THE ANCIENT  
CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA, AND OTHER SUBJECTS  
OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

THE WHOLE EXPLAINED BY ELEVEN MAPS ADAPTED TO THE DIFFERENT SUBJECTS; AND  
ACCOMPANIED WITH A COMPLETE INDEX.

By **JAMES RENNELL, Esq.**

LATE MAJOR OF ENGINEERS, AND SURVEYOR-GENERAL IN BENGAL; FELLOW OF THE  
ROYAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH; MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE  
OF PARIS, AND OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF ST. PETERSBURGH;  
AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF GOTTINGEN.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

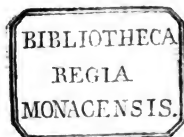
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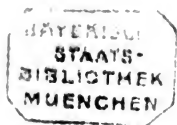
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*The Portrait of the Author is given in the present Edition, by  
permission of the Countess Spencer.*



GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,  
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.





TO

## THE READER.

---

AMONGST the melancholy duties which have devolved upon me, in consequence of the lamented death of my revered Father, that of doing honor to his memory, by publishing a Second Edition of his Geography of HERODOTUS, I consider one of the most imperative; and in giving up this work, I think it proper to state, that I am fully aware much important information has been obtained since it was first published; and had my Father's health permitted him to superintend a Second Edition, he would have availed himself of it, as no one was more candid in acknowledging errors, or more ready to offer his tribute of gratitude to those who enabled him to correct them: but as I consider his works a sacred deposit committed to my

charge, I do not feel myself at liberty to allow of any alterations in the text, excepting those which have been found in the Author's revised copy. I trust the above frank confession will disarm criticism; and though the distinguished Author is beyond its influence, I hope it will still be remembered—he must ever live in the memory of his daughter,

JANE RODD.

*Wimpole Street,*  
*August 28th, 1830.*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

AMONG the papers of the late MAJOR RENNELL have been found a Memoir on the General Currents in the Atlantic Ocean, accompanied by a series of Charts, shewing their force and direction ; and also a work on the Ancient and Modern Geography of certain parts of Asia, with twelve Maps engraved, and nearly completed.

The fruits of so much enlightened industry, and the occupation of so many years of his life, cannot fail of being interesting to the public ; and as both these works appear to be ready for the press, as soon as arrangements can be made for this purpose they will be published ; the former under the immediate and gracious Patronage of HIS MAJESTY.

TO

**GEORGE-JOHN EARL SPENCER,**

**VISCOUNT SPENCER, VISCOUNT ALTHORP,**

AND

**BARON SPENCER, OF ALTHORP,**

IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON;

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, ONE OF HIS  
MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, FIRST LORD  
AND COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY, ONE OF THE  
ELDER BRETHERN OF THE TRINITY HOUSE,  
&c. &c. &c.

---

MY LORD,

IN soliciting the honour of inscribing this book with your Lordship's name, the Author has no wish to intrude on the intervals of leisure, which the important duties of your high office occasionally admit; although he flatters himself that some parts of the work may afford occasional recreation, when your mind, oppressed by political labour, is compelled to seek relief in employments of a less fatiguing nature. Perhaps they may recal to your Lordship's mind, ideas respecting the history and policy of those nations of antiquity, whose learning and arts we are

ambitious of imitating ; and whose liberty is a perpetual theme of praise, even amongst us, who have employed ages in perfecting a practical system of our own ; which, although subject to decay, like all other human institutions, promises to be of much longer duration than any other on record.

To preserve this wonderful fabric entire, in all its parts, your Lordship joined your counsels and exertions at a MOMENTOUS CRISIS. History will relate the acts of YOUR DEPARTMENT—That from the GANGES to the NILE, and from the NILE to the shores of THE SISTER ISLAND, the desperate projects of the inveterate enemy of mankind, against the safety and the interests of THIS EMPIRE, were totally frustrated. Such is the sentiment of a GREAT, an INDEPENDENT, and a GRATEFUL People : and a conviction of its truth, constitutes, in a mind like yours, the proper and envied reward of great national services.

May your Lordship's exertions be still crowned with success ; and the period speedily arrive, when those unprincipled men who have shaken the moral and social world to its centre ; who keep their own country in chains, and the rest of Europe in alarm, in order to perpetuate their own atrocious system of arbitrary power, shall be dispersed and destroyed.

Happily, the effects of the intoxicating draught, administered to a credulous world, by this enemy to social order, have abated; the treachery concealed in the cup, is become manifest; and mankind are fast recovering that temper of mind, which is suited to their state of being, and to the unalterable laws of nature.

I am, with the greatest respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's obliged,

And faithful humble servant,

J. RENNELL.

*London, January 1st, 1800.*

## P R E F A C E

(TO THE FIRST EDITION.)

---

IT is possible that the act of presenting a bulky volume as a part only of a larger work (although this part be complete in itself, in respect of its proper subject), may startle the Public, to whom it is offered. This, however, is the fact. The Author, several years since, undertook the task of correcting the geography, ancient and modern, throughout that part of Asia situated between India and Europe; in effect the great theatre of ancient history in Asia, as well as of European commerce and communication in modern times. His first object was to adapt the system so formed to the use of statesmen and travellers; the next, to apply it to the illustration of such parts of ancient military history as were, in his idea, deficient, from a want of the necessary aids of geography, and which have been, in a degree, supplied in latter times.

This task he has some time since performed, to the best of his ability, and as far as his stock of materials admitted ; but the work had grown to such a size, that it would have been an act of imprudence in an individual to venture on so great an expence as the execution of the work, in all its parts, required. In the mean time, however, he has ventured so far as to prepare the first division of it, consisting of the GEOGRAPHY of HERODOTUS, and which, as preparing the ground for the remainder of the ancient geography, he now, with great deference, offers to the Public, accompanied with maps necessary to its explanation.

The remaining parts will consist of the ancient geography, as it was improved by the Grecian conquests and establishments, together with such portions of military history as appear to want explanation. Maps of ancient geography, on scales adapted to the purpose, will accompany it ; whilst the modern geography (in which the most prominent features of the ancient will also appear), will be contained in a large map, similar in size and scale to the four-sheet map of India, already in the hands of the Public. It may be proper to remark, that as the present Volume forms a complete Work of itself, so will each of the succeeding ones, they being no



otherwise connected with each other than as being in the same series. The same is to be understood of some large maps that are to accompany the volumes, but will be too large to be folded into them.

A Map of POSITIONS, intended to explain and to preserve the ground-work of the whole geographical construction, will be added. One principal use of this is to preserve, in their original and unmixed state, the authorities collected from a great variety of sources, and which may aid the construction of future systems of geography, although a part of the materials may be superseded by those of a better kind; in which case the geographer, discarding such portions as he finds necessary, may be enabled to make his own use of the rest in their original state. Were they to be found only in a *mixed* state, as in the geographical maps, without discrimination of quality, and most probably divested of their originality, by having been formed into a general mass with others, they must either be employed in future to a disadvantage, or again *sought out*; and if *found at all*, with great and unnecessary loss of time to the community of science. This portion of the work, then, will form, in the least possible room, and at the least expence, a great *depôt* of the materials of geography for future times.

After the above explanation, it will of course be understood that the progress of the work at large must necessarily depend on the reception given to the present part; and the Author flatters himself that, in forming the decision, which is finally to determine the fate of the succeeding parts, a due regard will be had as well to the extent and labour of the *search* after, as of the *compilation* of the materials, that compose this portion of the work (thus offered as a specimen of the work at large); as amongst such a mass of matter, error, no doubt, must sometimes have lurked unnoticed, or even have assumed the garb of truth, to deceive.

It is proper that the reader should know that the Author, being ignorant of the Greek language, could only obtain the knowledge of the TEXT of Herodotus through the medium of translations. The magnitude of this defect will perhaps be differently estimated by different persons. It may doubtless be said, with truth, that no *ordinary* reader of Greek is likely to be so perfect a master of the subject of Herodotus, by a perusal of the original work, as by translations made by *professed scholars*, who have devoted a great portion of their time to the study of it; although it must at the same time be allowed, that such scholars, if also skilled in the science of geography, would be by far the fittest persons to

undertake a task of this kind. Such an one, however, has not yet undertaken it, and therefore the Author flatters himself that, in the existing state of things, his work may be allowed to pass until the desired coincidence may take place. M. D'Anville was, perhaps, the fittest person to have executed it; but it may possibly be said, that he was better employed.

On this occasion the Author has followed, almost universally, the English translation by Mr. Beloe, to whom he acknowledges his obligations, and who is consequently entitled to a share of whatsoever credit the Public may allow to the present work.

Sir William Jones, in speaking of the imperfect state of the Geography of Asia, has a remark to the following effect: that "until some geographer, equally skilled in the eastern languages, and in the science which he professes," will correct the geography of Asia, the reader of its history must be content with the present imperfect system. It appears (in the same place<sup>1</sup>) that Sir William himself meditated this task, but wanted leisure. This is much to be regretted; as well as that the materials which he had collected for that purpose,

<sup>1</sup> Preface to the History of Nadir Shah.

should have been lost or destroyed. However, it appears that he did not recollect that very much might be done, by faithful translations of the works of the Oriental geographers, for the use of European ones. It may also be said, that we must be content to receive things in such a way as they may be conveniently, or indeed, at all, executed : and finally, that the most perfect work is nothing more than the nearest approximation to the truth.

The aids that have been furnished to the Author, in various ways, have been, as on other occasions of this kind, very extensive. Generally speaking, where this could be done, these favours have been acknowledged in the course of the work ; but the Author has a pleasure in repeating the names of his friends in this more conspicuous place, although he may hazard the imputation of vanity, in so ostentatiously displaying his resources. He acknowledges his obligations to Sir Joseph Banks, and Sir Charles Blagden ; to Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Marsden, Mr. Wilkins, M. Correa de Serra, and the Doctors Gillies, Gray, and Dryander ; to Mr. Browne and Mr. Park, (the African travellers) and to Mr. John Sullivan ; to Colonel Kirkpatrick, of the Bengal Establishment, and Captain Cuninghame, of that of Madras, (now Brigade Major to the three regiments of Royal East India Volunteers),

the Rev. Mr. Tooke, and Mr. George Nicol. And as an act of justice should not be forborne, through fear of imputed vanity, or presumption, he ventures to add to this list, his two sons, the one of Trinity College, Cambridge, the other of the Bengal Civil Establishment.

It remains that something should be said respecting the Maps that are meant to explain and to illustrate the different subjects of the book. *Some* of the general maps, may possibly be complained of, for the smallness of their scales; but as they must of necessity be folded into the book, they could not conveniently be made larger. Besides, it was deemed sufficient to give correct *outlines* alone, of a system of geography, the *particulars* of which might be found, generally, in the existing systems; although framed for an age posterior to that of Herodotus. The general maps relating to Western Scythia, to the Satrapies, and to Libya, are given here, with more detail than the others, because they will be found less perfect, in the existing systems: and it is hoped, that, on the whole, the reader will not often find himself at a loss, in the explanation of the geography. Whenssoever it may happen, great aid will be derived from the ancient geography of M. D'Anville (the only system of the kind, that can be deemed at all perfect; and unquestion-

ably, as far as he was in any degree master of the actual geography, a work incomparable in its kind). His maps of the ancient World, of the Roman Empire, Asia Minor, and ancient Egypt, will probably satisfy the reader in every case where he is at a loss, in respect of particular situations, in the maps contained in this work.

To prevent misconceptions, regarding the ancient Map of Egypt, (No. VII.) the reader is informed, that as no copy is known to exist from whence the form of the ancient coast of the Delta could be delineated, the Author could do no other than describe it under its present form. It is almost certain that no considerable change can have taken place either at Canopus or Pelusium: nor can it be supposed that the additions to the intermediate part can have been such, as to occasion any sensible difference, in a general map: since Herodotus has remarked, that Busiris stood in the middle of the Delta, in which position its supposed remains are now found. It is remarked, in the course of the work, that, as the coast of the Delta advances into deeper water, its progress, in point of extent, must necessarily be slower.

In some of the general maps, a great proportion of modern geography will be found; which it was

impossible to separate from the ancient, without much injury to the main subject ; as by a comparison of the two, on the spot, the mutual relation to each other will be best understood. The ancient names have a *dash* under them ; if not otherwise distinguished on the spot.

The bulk of the Volume is unquestionably a fault : and is owing to the Author's having made a wrong calculation of the quantity of matter at the outset. Had a correct estimate been made, as much of the matter would have been withheld, as to reduce the book to a more moderate size and price. Such, however, as it is, the Author ventures to offer it to an IMPARTIAL PUBLIC ; conscious, indeed, of its defects ; but conscious also, that they do not arise from a remission of labour or attention.

*London, Jan. 1st, 1800.*

# CONTENTS

TO

## VOL. I.

---

### SECTION I.

	PAGE
Preliminary Observations . . . . .	1

---

### SECTION II.

Concerning the Itinerary State of the Greeks . . . . .	17
--	----

### SECTION III.

Of Europe, according to Herodotus . . . . .	45
---	----

### SECTION IV.

Of the Western, or Euxine Scythia . . . . .	66
---	----

### SECTION V.

Of the Countries bordering on Western Scythia . . . . .	109
---	-----

### SECTION VI.

Expedition of Darius Hystaspes to Western Scythia . . . . .	133
---	-----

### SECTION VII.

The Countries situated beyond Western Scythia, to the East and North-east . . . . .	170
--	-----

### SECTION VIII.

Of Asia, according to Herodotus . . . . .	216
---	-----



	PAGE
<u>SECTION IX.</u>	
The Subject continued . . . . .	243
<u>SECTION X.</u>	
Of Eastern Scythia, or the Country of the Massagetæ . . . . .	273
<u>SECTION XI.</u>	
Of the Twenty Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes . . . . .	303
<u>SECTION XII.</u>	
The subject continued . . . . .	362
<u>SECTION XIII.</u>	
<u>An Examination of the Report of Aristagoras, concerning the Royal Road from Ionia to Susa . . . . .</u>	<u>427</u>
<u>SECTION XIV.</u>	
<u>Concerning the Site and Remains of the ancient City of Babylon . . . . .</u>	<u>441</u>
<u>SECTION XV.</u>	
<u>On the Captivity and Disposal of the Ten Tribes of the Jews . . . . .</u>	<u>512</u>

# LIST OF MAPS

TO

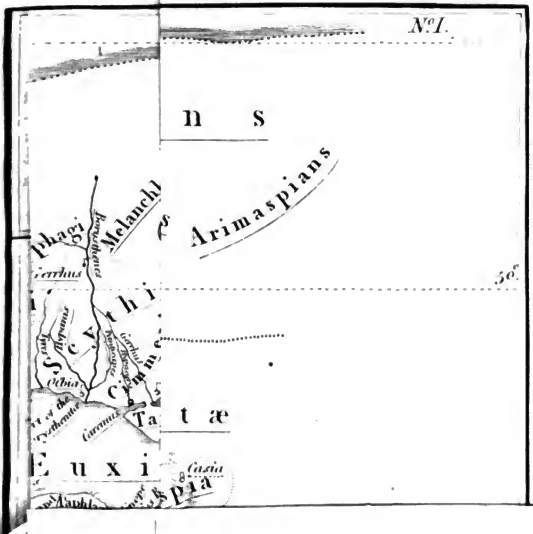
## VOL. I.

---

	PAGE
NO. I. THE WORLD, according to the ideas of <i>Herodotus</i> , who supposed its surface to be <i>flat</i> . This map explains his ideas of the relative positions of the countries and seas known to him; to face . . .	1
II. The same on a similar scale, but on a <i>spherical</i> projection; and with the countries in their just relative positions and proportions . . . . .	1
III. EUXINE or WESTERN SCYTHIA; with the tribes or nations bordering on it: including the whole space between the rivers Teisse and Wolga; and between the Euxine sea and Moscow. This map is explanatory of the IV, V, and VIth Sections .	45
IV. Maps of the HELLESPONT and BOSPHORUS; shewing the positions of the BRIDGES of DARIUS and XERXES: explanatory of the latter part of Section VI. Also, Edrisi's idea of the situation of the rampart and country of GOG and MAGOG, referred to from Section VII. . . . .	152
V. The TWENTY SATRAPIES of DARIUS HYSTASPES, in Asia and Africa: including also Greece, Thrace, the <i>two</i> Scythias, and the country of the <i>Issedones</i> , to the borders of <i>Serica</i> . This map describes not	

only the twenty Satrapies, but the extent of the knowledge of Herodotus, eastward; and nearly the whole tract known to him in Asia. It also shews the relative positions, and the extent, of the *two* Scythias; and in the description of the latter, combines the ideas of the Russian and Chinese geographers, with those of Sherefeddin and Strahlenberg. It explains the whole of the VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XIIth Sections, respecting Asia, the Eastern Scythians, and the Satrapies; as also what relates to the tract *between* the two Scythias . . . . . 303

- VI. The position of ANCIENT BABYLON, in respect of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, and other places in Babylonia and Mesopotamia: with the canals drawn from the Euphrates to the Tigris, in the narrow part of Babylonia. Also the elevation of the Tower of Belus, and the disposition of the public structures in Babylon . . . . . 441



N. 1.

N S

Arimaspians

Phagi  
Melanchl

Sicythi  
Crimæ  
Tartæ

Luxi  
Cuzin

50°



THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS  
EXAMINED, &c.

---

SECTION I.

*Preliminary Observations—The Geography of HERODOTUS not intended for a System, but to explain a History—he regarded the whole habitable Earth, as one Continent—his Character for Veracity, on the Increase—has suffered most, through his Readers' Neglect of distinguishing what the Author saw, from what he only heard—was ignorant of abstract Science; and did not believe that the Earth was globular:—but is respectable as a Historian, Geographer, and Moralist—a great Traveller—his Geography consists more in relative Positions, than actual Distances, and Dimensions—Scope of his geographical Knowledge.*

As the writings of Herodotus furnish the earliest record of history, among the heathen authors whose works have reached us, so they also furnish the *earliest known* system of geography, as far as it goes<sup>1</sup>. It may therefore be worth while to examine

<sup>1</sup> The late PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON, whose memory the Author venerates, as he esteemed him living, has the following remark, at the opening of his last work, the *Disquisition concerning ancient India*. What he there says respecting history, is equally applicable to geography.

“Whoever attempts to trace the operations of men in remote

this system, in order to compare it with the actual geography; as well as in certain cases, with the systems of Eratosthenes, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny<sup>2</sup>. We have said, *as far as it goes*, because the geography of Herodotus is confined more to ASIA and AFRICA, than to EUROPE: and is by no means intended to form an abstract system, but to explain with more effect, the transactions recorded in a history, the theatre of which includes little more in Europe, than the provinces bordering on the *Ægean sea*, the *Propontis*, *Euxine*, and *Palus Mæotis*; and in Africa, the kingdom of *Egypt* and its dependencies; but almost the whole of the

times, and to mark the various steps of their progress in any line of exertion, will soon have the mortification to find, that the period of authentic history is extremely limited. It is little more than 3000 years since the books of Moses, the most ancient and only genuine record of what passed in the early ages of the world, were composed. Herodotus, the most ancient heathen historian whose works have reached us, flourished 1000 years later. If we push our inquiries concerning any point beyond the æra where written history commences, we enter upon the region of conjecture, of fable, and of uncertainty. Upon that ground, I will neither venture myself, nor endeavour to conduct my readers."

The materials of our author's geography may be reckoned of a date of 450 to 500 years before our æra. Dr. Usher fixes his birth at 484 before Christ. He also says that he read his books before the council at Athens, in 445; of course, when he was about 39 years of age. This was about 44 years before the expedition of Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand; 111 before Alexander crossed the Hellespont.

<sup>2</sup> In order to form an idea in detail of the systems of the three first of these great geographers, the reader is referred to the work of M. GOSSELIN, entitled *Geographie des Grecs analysée*, 1780.

known parts of Asia. Limited, however, as the theatre of war in Europe might be, the brilliancy of the transactions on it, surpassed those throughout all the rest of the space.

If it be supposed (as in reason it may) that our Author was master of all the geographical, as well as historical knowledge, of his own times, it may be inferred that the Greeks knew but little concerning the western part of Europe, besides the mere sea coast; and although our Author seems to entertain no doubt of the existence of a Northern ocean, he confesses his ignorance, whether, or not, *Europe* was bounded on the *north* and *east* by the ocean.

It is proper to remark, that Herodotus considered, and perhaps rightly, the whole of the earth then known, as ONE SINGLE CONTINENT: regarding Europe, Asia, and Africa, as nothing more than *divisions* of that continent. In effect, he does not attach any degree of importance to the question concerning the boundaries of these divisions; and therefore speaks of the line of separation between Europe and Asia, Asia and Africa, in a vague way. "I am far," says he, *Melpom.* 45, "from satisfied why to *one continent*, three different names, taken from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions (meaning Asia) some have given as a boundary the Egyptian *Nile* and the Colchian *Phasis*; others, the *Tanais*, the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and the *Palus Mæotis*."

It appears that he adopted for the boundary of Asia, the river Phasis, and not the Tanais: and for that of Africa, the Isthmus of Suez, in preference to



the Nile; for, speaking of Africa, he says, that it is “bounded by the sea, except in that particular part, which is contiguous to Asia.” Something, however, like contradiction appears in respect of this subject: for it will be seen hereafter, that he excludes Egypt from *Africa*, as well as from *Asia*; which appears very extraordinary, and can only be accounted for, on the ground that he does not, like others, distribute the habitable world into *continents*, but into *regions*: and that Egypt might be considered as a region of itself.

The shore of the Baltic sea, from whence *amber* was brought (Prussia), seems to have been the extent of his knowledge, that way. The British Islands he knew in *part*, as being the place from whence the Phœnicians, and from them the Greeks, had their *tin*; an indispensable article, it would appear, as without it they could not harden their copper, so as to make it answer the purposes of iron, in weapons, or in armour. He accordingly speaks of the *Cassiterides*, as the *islands* from whence the tin was said to be brought. It has been very much the custom to refer the Cassiterides to the Scilly Islands alone; but the idea ought to be extended to Cornwall at least: and, it is possible that very great changes have taken place in the state of Scilly and Cornwall since the date of that traffic<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> There are some curious particulars in Diodorus Siculus respecting an island near the British coast, to which carriages laden with tin came at low water, in order to its being embarked on vessels for the continent. See the course of this merchandize in lib. v. c. 2.

The fact of the insular nature of Britain must of course have been ascertained by the Phœnicians, who sailed between it and the continent, in their way to the amber country: but whether they knew much concerning the *extent* of Britain northward, or of the *existence* of Ireland, is a fact that appears not to have reached us. It is, however, very probable, that in the *idea* of Herodotus, the Cassiterides were a cluster of small islands, insignificant in any other point of view, than as containing tin mines.

Of ASIA, by *much the greater part* was unknown; and yet, notwithstanding this deficiency, the proportion of space on the globe, known to Ptolemy, about 600 years after Herodotus, did not *greatly* exceed that, which was known, in a general way, to Herodotus himself; although during that interval all the knowledge acquired by the Macedonian and Roman expeditions, had been brought forward to public view. This is easily explained. The track of Alexander was confined generally within the limits already known to our Author; so that it brought no accession of *space*. And although the discoveries and inquiries made by the Romans, had added to the space known to Herodotus, the north and north-eastern parts of Europe, together with the British islands at large; as well as *Serica*, the borders of China, the Peninsula *beyond* the Ganges, the *eastern* part of *India*, and *Taprobana*; yet the ground lost by geographers in Africa, nearly, if not entirely, overbalanced all the latter acquisitions. So that in Africa, Herodotus knew *more* than Ptolemy, *vastly more* than *Strabo*. For, it is certain, that

Herodotus had a very positive, and in some degree, circumstantial, knowledge, of the course of the river *Niger*; now, by the discoveries recently made by Mr. Park, shewn to be the same with the *Joliba*, or great inland river of Africa: so that we must extend his knowledge of the inland part of Africa to the same point, known to Ptolemy, and to the Romans. Again, *Ethiopia*, and the *general* course of the Nile, to a certain point, were alike known to Herodotus and to Ptolemy, by report; although the place of the distant fountains of the Nile was involved in obscurity. But the striking difference in the quantity of space known, in Africa, to these authors, respectively, arose from Herodotus's knowing that Africa extended a vast way to the south of the Nile, and Niger, and that it had been sailed round; whilst Ptolemy was either ignorant of the circumstance, or disbelieved it.

In point of discrimination also, as well as of extent, geography, in some particulars, lost ground between the times of Herodotus and Strabo: for Herodotus knew that the Caspian sea was a lake, and describes it as such; but this was afterwards either forgotten, or the opinion was overruled: and from the date of Alexander's expedition, to Ptolemy, the Caspian passed for a *gulf* of the Northern ocean; to which it was supposed to be joined, by an exceeding *long* and *narrow* strait. So that an actual visit to the spot, by Alexander and his followers, had the singular effect of *falsifying*, instead of *improving*, the systems of geography.

It is a common and just remark, that the authority

of our Author's work has been rising in the opinion of the world, in latter times ; which may be referred to the number of discoveries that have been lately made, and which are continually making, in the countries which he describes. It was ignorance and inattention therefore, that determined the opinions of his judges ; a charge in which several of the ancients are implicated as well as the moderns. The same want of attention has confounded together the descriptions of what he *saw*, with what he had only *heard* ; and which he might think himself bound to relate. Mr. Wood speaks much to the purpose respecting this matter. He says, " were I to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say, that he is a writer of VERACITY in his description of what he SAW, but of CREDULITY in his relations of what he had HEARD." We may add, that superstition made him credulous in *believing* many improbable stories ; but love of truth prevented him from *asserting* falsehoods. The instances of gross superstition manifested by him are too numerous to be recounted ; but superstition was also common to many other great characters.

But his ignorance in certain points is infinitely more displeasing than his superstition : for it may be observed, that however distinguished our author may have been as an HISTORIAN, GEOGRAPHER, and MORALIST, yet that as a man of science, and a natural philosopher, he ranks very low indeed ; as is too conspicuous in several parts of his work. Such is his ignorance of the existence of *snow* in elevated

situations in warm climates; Euterpe, 22; his belief that the sun was vertical in India, before mid-day; Thalia, 104; and his very unphilosophical way of accounting for the swelling of the Nile; in which he talks of the sun's being driven out of his course, &c. Euterpe, 24.

It appears also, that he did not believe that the earth was of a globular form; which alone was sufficient to lead him into great errors. Says he, Melpom. 36. "I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth; that the earth is *round*, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe." Again, Melpom. 42, although he believed that the ships of *Nechao* had circumnavigated Africa, yet it appeared incredible to him, that during the voyage they should have had the sun on their *right hand*. All which arose from his ignorance in matters of science. But wheresoever he speaks of history, or of morals, he fails not to give information and satisfaction: these being his proper walks.

We could with pleasure dwell on this subject, if the scope of our work permitted it; for the justice and propriety of his remarks on matters of common life, prove his observation to be very acute, and his judgment no less clear. But we cannot resist the temptation of inserting the following remarks, at this time, as they shew the strong contrast between a virtuous republican of Greece, and a modern republican, formed on a Gallic model. And yet no

one can doubt that the permanent comfort and happiness of the human species, were to the full, as much the object of the former, as of the latter.

Speaking of the atrocious conduct of Cambyses in Egypt, he says, " For my own part, I am satisfied that Cambyses was deprived of his reason ; he would not otherwise have disturbed the *sanctity of temples*, or of *established customs*. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent ; no one therefore, but a madman, would treat such prejudices with contempt." Thalia, 38.

These are the sentiments of a republican, who, in order to enjoy a greater degree of civil liberty, quitted his native city Halicarnassus, when its system of laws was violated by the tyrant Lygdamis<sup>4</sup>.

The most extraordinary of his errors, as being so directly contrary to what appears to the most common observer, is the story of the *vertical* sun in the

<sup>4</sup> He has also the following remark, in his description of Egypt.

" It seems to be an established prejudice, even amongst nations *the least refined*, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens ; and to esteem those as the most noble, who were of no profession ; annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails *throughout Greece*, but more particularly at Lacedæmon ; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem." Euterpe, 167.

*morning* : but it is possible that the story may be accounted for, satisfactorily ; though not altogether to the credit of our Author's knowledge. He says,

“ In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people (the Indians) is greatest, not at *mid-day*, but in the *morning*. They have a *vertical* sun, *when with us*, people *withdraw* from the *Forum* ; during which period the warmth is more excessive than the mid-day sun in Greece.” Thalia, 104.

The time when the *Forum* was *full*, is fixed by the best authorities, at nine in the morning ; and although we have no idea of the hour when the people retired from it, yet, the context considered, it must be supposed to be at a considerable distance short of noon ; it being in some degree *contrasted* with it, by our Author.

Is not this very extraordinary misapprehension occasioned by the neglect of reducing the *time* to the *meridian* of the place ? For, by the difference of longitude between Greece (or perhaps Ionia might be meant) and hither India, it would certainly happen, that when it was nine o'clock in Greece, it would be about noon on the banks of the Indus.

If Herodotus could have been made to believe that the earth was *round*, it is probable that he would not have fallen into this error, occasioned perhaps, by a story, literally true, but maliciously told him by one who believed that the earth was globular, but could not persuade Herodotus that it was so. And we have already remarked that he

says, " I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk," &c.

His geographical notices are scattered throughout his work; and would, according to Mr. Beloe's observation, fill a volume. They are ever placed where they may best serve to elucidate the parts of the history to which they respectively belong; and not with a view to an abstract system of geography. It is not therefore to be inferred, that he was ignorant of any particular subject of geography, because he omits to descant on it; history, and not geography, being his principal object. We have endeavoured to collect all the scattered notices into one point of view, in order to make them bear on, and illustrate each other, in a kind of system; it being only by a reference to these notices collectively, that any kind of system can be made out. As a geographer, he had an advantage over the generality of his brethren, in that he had *seen* the countries which he *most* particularly describes; that is, *Egypt, Scythia, Thrace, Persia, Assyria, Lydia, Palestine, Syria, &c.* That he visited these, we learn from his own authority, in different parts of his work; as in *Euterpe throughout*, but particularly in chapters 3, 29, 44, 104, 106, and 167; *Clio*, 194; and *Melpom.* 86.

It has appeared, that Herodotus doubts whether the ocean completely encompasses the earth; but he admits that it surrounds it on *three* sides. For, speaking of the Caspian sea, as being unconnected with all others, (in effect a lake) he says, that the *Erythrean* sea, and the one *frequented* by the



*Greeks*, as well as the *Atlantic*, are parts of the *same ocean* ; Clio, 203 : and as he also says, Melpom. 13, 36, that the Hyperboreans, whom he places to the northward of the Scythians and Issedones, EXTENDED TO THE SEA ; this is saying, in other words, that the sea bordered on, and confined *Europe and Asia* on the *north*. We have here then, in express terms, a *north*, a *south*, and a *west* sea ; but no *eastern* sea ; so that he considered the eastern part of the world, as composed of *land* only : for he says, that “ the Indians are the *last* nation towards the *east* ; and that beyond them is a *vast desert*, unknown and unexplored.” Melpom. 40. Again he says, Melpom. 8, “ They affirm, without proving it, that the *ocean*, commencing at the *east*, flows round the *earth*.”

The geography of Herodotus consists almost entirely of a series of relative positions of countries, to each other ; but without distances or dimensions, except in certain instances. Hence, we can only refer to those ideas of *juxtaposition*, the measures given by succeeding geographers ; particularly Eratosthenes and Strabo, whose ideas of relative position seem to have differed but little from those of our Author : for we clearly discover his principal errors perpetuated in the systems of those geographers. Wherefore, reasoning from analogy, it may be inferred, that the dimensions of countries, and regions, given generally by *them*, were those extant in the days of Herodotus ; save only such as were corrected by the materials furnished by the expedition of Alexander ; which expedition, besides the *eclat*

of the military history belonging to it, furnished in Greece and Egypt, an *epoch* of geographical improvement and correction, which may not unaptly be compared with that of the discoveries of the Portuguese, along the coasts of Africa and India; or of that of the present time, in which geography has been improved in every quarter of the globe.

But, in effect, the expeditions of Alexander and of Xenophon, how fruitful soever in geographical notices, in *detail*, did not afford materials for correcting the former errors of the Greeks, respecting some of the most important relative positions, in the *gross*: as for instance, the Caspian sea was supposed by Herodotus to be *opposite* to the coast of the Persian *Icthyophagi*; and the sea of Colchis to that of Persia: and these errors existed not only in the days of Herodotus, but continued to those of Eratosthenes and Strabo also. The cause of their perpetuation will be shewn in the sequel.

His ideas of the proportional extent of the known parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, were very defective: for he reckoned the two latter much too small, in respect of Europe. But it is again to be remarked, that succeeding geographers, down to Pliny inclusive, ran into the same kind of error, and even to a greater degree: for instance, the *Europe* of Eratosthenes and Strabo, exceeded in their ideas, the parts of *Asia* known to *Herodotus*: and those of Africa, in a yet greater degree. Pliny erred yet more in his proportions. Ptolemy was the first who approached the truth, in giving the *relative proportions* of the known regions of the globe, al-

though the *absolute* measures in longitude given by him, were in excess to a degree perfectly unaccountable : whilst the errors of his predecessors, although in excess likewise, appear to be so, only in the proportion which the distance by the *road*, or by the coasting voyage of a ship, exceeds that by the *direct* line. And this seems, indeed, to point out the source of many of their errors.

Another error of Herodotus was, his taking the *Isthmus* of Asia Minor, much too narrow. A like error, but in a greater degree, appears to have arisen in his estimation of the *breadth* of Arabia ; which is inferable from his statements of the respective positions of Egypt and Cilicia ; Colchis, and the Persian gulf ; an error also perpetuated by succeeding geographers : for Pliny, lib. vi. c. 28, compares the Peninsula of Arabia, to that of Italy, not only in *form* and *position*, but in point of *size* also ! Thus the most *prominent features* of this geography, as far as we can collect from the records of the times, did not *greatly* vary, from the days of Herodotus, to those of Pliny.

In so ancient a book, one must not be surprised at finding corruptions in the numerals, or even in the proper names. With respect to the first, we sometimes find them false, in places where a knowledge of the ground affords the means of detecting them : and hence, the same may be inferred in other places, where, through want of the requisite information, they escape detection. As to names, it appears that they are more correct, than one had a right to expect. It is, however, certain, that in the account

of the Persian Satrapies, certain names occur, that cannot be referred to any particular position. Some of these may have been lost, altogether, in subsequent times; as there is an instance in that of the *Caspian's* country, whose name was grown obsolete before the time of Strabo. Others may have been corrupted; and others again were probably no more than names of the principal cities of the several countries, applied to the countries themselves; a custom very prevalent in the East, to the great confusion of history, and of geography. But, on the whole, during the interval of five or six centuries, between Herodotus and Ptolemy, the names do not appear to have undergone much change.

The scope of the geographical knowledge of our Author may be briefly comprised in the following description:

Of EUROPE and ASIA, collectively, the northern boundary was the ocean, whose shore was supposed to continue from the south of the Baltic, eastward; and perhaps touching the parallel of 60°. On the north-east, the mountains of *Altai*, at the head of the Irtysh river, and the country of the Oigurs or Yugures, which is far advanced within Great Tartary, seem to have terminated his knowledge; and on the east, the great sandy deserts of Tartary, and the country of India; but of this last, his ideas appear to have been the most indistinct possible, both in respect of its extent, and of its history. The Peninsula of India is darkly pointed out by the tract which extends very far to the south of Persia, and whose inhabitants are black; but it is given under too confined limits.

The eastern extremity of Herodotus's world, was a vast Desert, *unknown* and *unexplored*, and consequently in extent, *indefinite*. The remainder he *knew* to be surrounded by the ocean; including AFRICA, which he confined within limits which were very much narrower than the truth, both in respect of its length and breadth; although much wider than appears in the systems of other geographers.

In the discussion of this subject, we shall treat the three divisions of EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA, according to our author's distribution of their space, in the order here mentioned: adding thereto a particular description of the 20 Satrapies of Persia, according to the arrangement of DARIUS HYSTASPES. These last comprised a great proportion of the known part of the world, at that day. But before we enter finally on the discussion of the geography, it may be proper to ascertain what portion of distance was intended by the *itinerary* stade of the Greeks, since their geography appears to have been regulated by this scale.



The  
**WORLD,**  
*as known to*  
**HERODOTUS,**  
 — on —  
**Merical Projection;**  
*and with its*  
*their just relative Positions,*  
*and Proportions.*

According to



## SECTION II.

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CONCERNING THE ITINERARY STADE OF THE GREEKS,  
FROM THE DATE OF HERODOTUS.

*The Grecian Stade often confounded with the Roman—appears to have varied, only with the judgment of the individuals who computed the distances—Examples cited from Herodotus, Pausanias, Xenophon, Eratosthenes, Strabo, Polybius, Pliny, and Arrian—receives confirmation from a comparison with the mean marches of armies—Paces, the elementary part of itinerary measures; and the Stade probably formed originally, of a hundred of these.*

THOSE who have entered into the question concerning the length of the Grecian Stade, have expressed the difficulties they have experienced in attempting to reconcile the different standards that present themselves, under one and the same denomination of STADE. In common acceptation we find a stade commensurate to a furlong; which idea is applied to all the stades of antiquity, whether Grecian or Roman, without considering whether the same standard, as well as denomination, was indifferently used by both nations.

This error may probably be traced to the Roman authors, who, in all cases where they have made use of Grecian materials in geography, have reckoned



8 stades to a Roman mile ; an error, however, natural enough, as it appears that they had a stade of their own, of that standard, and might suppose that the Grecian itinerary stade was of the same kind : for it has not been found an easy task to appreciate the standards of foreign itinerary measures at any rate ; and the authors in question, who wrote from books, and not from actual observation of the standards themselves, were the least likely of any to appreciate them rightly.

It is foreign to our purpose to enter into an inquiry concerning any other stade, than the one applied to *itinerary* purposes by the Greeks : and we conceive that this measure did not, in effect, vary in its *standard*, but that the different results arising from the comparison of the numbers of stades, with the ground on which they were computed, are to be ascribed to the difference of judgment amongst the individuals who made the computations ; (we say *computations*, because it may be supposed that the distances were, in very few instances, measured :) for the *greatest* difference that arises amongst the several authors, taking the mean of the examples furnished by each respectively, is about a *fourteenth* part, and that in one instance alone ; but the more *common* difference is only a *twenty-fourth* part.

Some have endeavoured to account for these differences, from the different ages in which the measures were employed : but this does not hold, for some of the measures reported by Herodotus, agree with those reported by Strabo several centuries afterwards ; whilst those of the same age frequently

differ<sup>5</sup>. Many of the numbers are, indeed, out of reason; and others absurd: but, in such cases, one ought rather to suppose a corruption of the text, than look for a diversity of standards, in the same denomination of itinerary measure; and in so small a state as Greece.

It is certain that Herodotus *describes* the stade as a measure of 600 Grecian feet<sup>6</sup>, which require about

<sup>5</sup> It must however be admitted, that in the Periplus of Scylax, which was written before the time of our author, the numbers appear greater, than in later authors; but whether this arose from ignorance of the true distances, or from an alteration of standard, may perhaps be disputed. We should rather believe the former cause, otherwise an alteration of  $\frac{1}{2}$  must have taken place, between the time of Scylax, and that of Strabo. For instance, the Island of *Crete*, is said by Scylax<sup>\*</sup>, to be 2,500 stades in length; but by Sosicrates, 2,300†; and by Strabo, 2,000‡. It is somewhat less than 150 geographical miles, (or those of 60 to a degree) or about 1,800 of Strabo's scale, (700 to a degree.) Possibly the indentations of the coast, may make up the 2,000. Sicily is also said by Scylax to be 2,500 stadia on *each* side§. Its length is indeed only about ten miles greater than Crete, which appears at first sight to countenance the idea of a shorter stade; but when it is recollected that the east side of Sicily is  $\frac{1}{2}$  shorter than the other two, although the three sides are said by Scylax to be equal, it must be allowed that no dependance can be placed on the statement of numbers. At all events, it is to be recollected that our inquiry has no reference to any date anterior to Herodotus.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Arbuthnot reckons the Grecian foot at 12,087 $\frac{1}{2}$  of our inches.

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\* Scylax, in Hudson's Min. Geog. Vol. i. pages 18 and 56.

† Strabo, p. 474.

‡ Ib. p. 106.

§ Scylax, p. 4.

600 to make a degree; but this appears to be the Olympic stade, which is valued by M. D'Anville at  $94\frac{1}{2}$  toises<sup>7</sup>. There is, however, no testimony concerning the application of this stade to itinerary purposes: on the contrary, every portion of distance, as well throughout Herodotus's history, as of the writings of other Greeks, appears, on a reference to the ground itself, to be measured by a stade of a much shorter standard; most of them rising *above* that of Xenophon, which is of 750 to a degree, but falling *below* that of Strabo, which is of 700. But although the Olympic stade was not used by Herodotus, it appears very clearly that he made use of *more than one* standard of itinerary stade; for the result of his numbers gives a much longer standard in *Greece, Asia Minor, and Persia*, than in *Egypt* and the *Euxine sea*. Whether this difference was the effect of design, or of misconception, cannot with certainty be known; but it was probably from the latter; as his silence might lead us to suppose that he had no more than one kind of stade in contemplation. It is important to observe, that the former agrees nearest with those of Xenophon, Eratosthenes, and Strabo, and in particular with that resulting from the calculation on the *mean* marches of armies; than which, perhaps, nothing can be more to the purpose, in the matter of approximation; since the *mean motion* of armies forms a kind of *natural* and *universal*

<sup>7</sup> Mes. Itin. page 70. In Euterpe, c. 149, Herodotus says that a stade is composed of 100 *orgyia*, each of six feet. Again, in Melpomene, c. 41, 100,000 *orgyia* are said to be equal to 1,000 stades.

*scale*, in all places, and at all times ; of which more in the sequel.

One must surely conclude that Herodotus was well informed respecting the itinerary measures of his country ; and therefore an example of it, given on one of the most celebrated communications in Greece, namely, that between Athens and Pisa (Olympia) ought, if the numbers are not corrupted, to be taken as decisive. This gives a ratio of 755 stades to a degree<sup>8</sup>. But, on the other hand, *Pausanias*<sup>9</sup>, gives the measure of the road between *Sparta* and *Pisa*, on which there arises a ratio of 707. It will be found in the sequel, that the former result agrees very nearly with the stade of Xenophon, the latter with that of Strabo.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus says, *Euterpe*, c. 7, "The distance betwixt *Heliopolis* (in Egypt) and the sea, is nearly the same, as from the altar of the twelve Deities, at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus at Pisa. The distance from Pisa to Athens wants precisely fifteen stadia of 1,500, which is the exact number of stadia between *Heliopolis* and the sea."

The direct distance on D'Anville's Map of Greece is 105 G. miles. If  $\frac{1}{8}$  be added for winding, the road distance will be 118, which gives 755 to a degree.

N.B. It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding this positive statement, and comparison, the distance betwixt *Heliopolis* and the sea is no more than 86 G. miles direct ; as will appear in the sequel.

<sup>9</sup> D'Anville, *Mes. Itin.* p. 76, quotes *Pausanias*, *Eliac. II.* who says, that the distance betwixt a certain column in Olympia, and another in Sparta, is 660 stades. On the map, this distance is 50 G. miles, or 56 by the road, giving a rate of 707 to a degree. The Theodosian table has 61 MP. only ; equal to about 49 G. miles by the road.

In a second example furnished by Herodotus, and that on an exceeding long line of distance, being the whole extent between *Sardis* and *Susa*, 13,500 stadia, the result, when due allowances are made for the inflections of the road (as in other cases,) is 694 and a fraction<sup>1</sup>. But this may be liable to exception, as it appears to be founded on the *relative proportions* of the Persian parasanga and the Grecian stade; the former of which is valued by Herodotus, *Erato*, c. 42, as well as by Xenophon, *Anabasis*, lib. 2, at 30 stades. It may justly be doubted whether any parasanga was of so short a standard as the one reported by Xenophon; and it is certain that the modern *farsang*, which represents it, is universally of a longer standard, and bears a

<sup>1</sup> This occurs in *Terpsichore*, c. 52. It is said that the road between *Sardis* and *Susa* is of the extent of 450 parasangas, each of 30 stades: that is, an aggregate of 13,500 stades. The distance on the map, taken through the points of *Issus* and *Mosul*, to *Sus*, (supposed to be *Susa*,) is 1,120 G. miles, from which results a proportion of  $723\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree. But as this is calculated on *exceeding long* lines of distance, it requires that some addition should yet be made to the 1,120 miles, in order to arrive at the measure of the road distance; although that road may be supposed to have been made straighter than the ordinary ones in that country; since it not only formed the grand communication between *Asia Minor*, *Cilicia*, and *Persia*, but was styled the *Royal Road*, and was divided into *stathmi* of about the length of the ordinary march of an army, terminated by inns or caravan-serais of great magnificence, for the use of the king. Probably  $\frac{1}{25}$  may be required, in addition to the inflections already allowed, on occasion of its passing through *Issus* and *Mosul*; and then the proportion will be 694 or 695 to a degree; falling short of that between *Athens* and *Pisa*, by about  $\frac{1}{15}$  part.

the true measure of the schœne, to that calculated on by Herodotus, it is very probable that the schœne furnished the ground of calculation *here*, as well as in Egypt. Certain it is, that the measure of the stade, in Egypt and the Euxine, differs from his statement of it elsewhere; as well as from the statements of others; and that in so great a degree, that if the stade is really meant in all places, we shall be obliged to charge Herodotus with inconsistency; a charge that can by no means be ordinarily imputed to him.

In our estimation of the stade of Herodotus, we shall therefore lay out of the question what regards Egypt and the Euxine, as being apparently involved in error, and confine the question to the examples given in every other part; that is, in Greece; on the road from Sardis to Susa; on the interval between the mouth of the Danube and that of the Borysthenes; and finally to the number of stades said to compose an ordinary march of an army. These, then, give a ratio of 732, to a degree of a great circle <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Summary of the examples given by Herodotus, in Greece, Asia, &c.

1. Between Athens and Pisa . . . . .	755
2. ———— Sardis and Susa . . . . .	695
3. ———— Danube and Borysthenes . . . . .	727
4. The scale of the ordinary march, which is about 14 B. miles, or 15 MP. whilst 150 stadia are stated to be an ordinary march, by Herodotus, Terpsichore, ch. 53 and	
54. (Xenophon has the same) . . . . .	750
	732
Mean . . .	732

The stade resulting from the marches of Xenophon, furnishes much satisfaction in respect of itself, as it may be checked, not only by the scale of the mean march, but also by the Jerusalem Itinerary, over part of the ground; and no less by the computations of the same distance by modern travellers. The ordinary march of Xenophon, was 150 stades, (the same length as is allowed by Herodotus,) and which, according to the practice of the Greeks, (whether right or wrong,) they both supposed to be equal to five Persian parasangas.

The Jerusalem Itinerary has 45 MP. between *Tarsus* and *Mansista*, on the river *Pyramus*<sup>9</sup> (the *Mopsuestia* of more ancient times, and the *Messis* of our own.) Within this space, Xenophon, with the younger Cyrus, made 3 marches, which he reckons equal to 15 parasangas, and these equal to 450 stades<sup>1</sup>. So that here are just 150 stades in each march, and these equal to 15 Roman miles; consequently there are 10 stades to each mile, or 750 to a degree; since M. D'Anville has shewn that 75 such miles are equivalent to that portion of the meridian<sup>2</sup>.

Again, between *Dana* (which is no doubt the *Tyana* of the Itinerary) and *Tarsus*, Xenophon reckons 25 parasangas<sup>3</sup>, and the Itinerary 75 MP.<sup>4</sup>; consequently, 750 stades to a degree.

The result of our inquiries into the length of the *mean* marches of armies, gives rather above 14 B.

<sup>9</sup> Itinerary, page 580.

<sup>1</sup> Anabasis, lib. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Mes. Itin. p. 44, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Anab. lib. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Itinerary, p. 577, *et seq.*

miles <sup>5</sup>, which may be reckoned 15 Roman miles. So that the ordinary march of Xenophon, agrees with the calculation of the ordinary march, at large. And having thus ascertained the distance marched through in a day, by Xenophon, we of course ascertain the length of his stade, which was the 150th part of 15 MP. or the 750th part of a degree. It has appeared that the result of the calculation, on the road from *Athens* to *Pisa*, comes very near to the present one; being 755.

It is proper to add, that modern travellers calculate at a medium the distance between Tarsus and the river Pyramus, at  $43\frac{1}{2}$  B. miles; whilst about  $41\frac{3}{4}$  are equivalent to the 45 MP. of the Itinerary. And also that, by the assumption of one point for the *Syrian gates*, and another for *Issus*, which is doubtless the *Öseler* (to be pronounced *Usseler*) of Niebuhr, the comparison of Xenophon's route with the Itineraries <sup>6</sup>, and with the computations of the

<sup>5</sup> This march, reduced to horizontal, or direct, distance, for geographical purposes, is about 10,6 G. miles. The stathmus mentioned by Herodotus (see above, p. 22, note) between Sardis and Susa, comes out 10,5: no doubt intended for an ordinary march.

The mean march of Xenophon from Natolia to Trebizonde is about 15 B. miles, but then the marches during his retreat were often much longer than on occasions of ordinary warfare. Five parasangas, or 15 MP. is his ordinary march; and which occurs in almost every page. The mean of 95 *measured* marches of *Indian* armies (no Europeans with them) was 14,6: or say  $14\frac{1}{2}$  B. miles.

<sup>6</sup> Meaning both the *Antonine* and *Jerusalem* Itineraries. See in the first, page 145, *et seq.*; the latter, p. 580, 581.



distance, may be extended in the gross, 20 parasangas beyond the Pyramus; making in all, 105 MP.; with the same success as in the former interval. And we may add, that in every part of Asia, where we can trace the footsteps of this IMMORTAL General, we find the same proportional scale of 750 to a degree.

The stade of Aristotle, valued at 1111 to a degree, we regard purely as an imaginary measure, and conceive that it was founded on certain supposed dimensions of the globe; which dimensions, having been found erroneous, in excess, the moderns have diminished the *standard* of the stade, instead of lessening the *number* of stades in a degree. We are therefore surprised to find it employed, in the application to actual geography, in very late times.

Eratosthenes and Strabo allow 700 stades to a degree, in their calculations of distance; but it appears that, (in Asia particularly) they often substituted the *road distance*, perhaps the marches of Alexander, for *direct* distance. This appears clearly by comparing the actual distances, as they appear in modern geography, with the numbers of stades given; for, in most cases, across the continent of Asia, the deficiency of distance amounts to the difference between the measure of the *direct* line, between any two places, and that of the *road* distance, between them. Nothing can speak more strongly to this point, than the circumstance of Strabo's giving the number of stades in Nearchus's coasting navigation, for the *length* of the coasts of Persia and Caramania.

Eratosthenes, as a Grecian, should have known the true value of a stade; a Grecian Itinerary measure: and, as a geographer, he ought to have known that it was necessary to make a distinction between *road* distance and *horizontal* distance. The same may be said of Strabo; but as we find no indication of any such distinction having been made; but, on the contrary, that the road distance agrees nearest to the number of stades (of the scale of 700 to a degree) used to express the extent of the countries, through which the roads lead, we may suspect that neither of them had ever been in the habit of constructing tabular geography; without which, no accurate idea of extent and juxtaposition can well be conceived, or expressed.

One might conclude, that, as 700 was the number fixed on, originally, by Eratosthenes, as the measure of a degree of a great circle, that this was the established standard at that day, in Greece, or Macedonia: for this principle was actually adopted, in the determination of that portion of the meridian, between the parallels of *Syene* and *Rhodes*, about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  degrees; in which the 8750 stades of Eratosthenes, and the 8600 of Strabo, afford a mean *ratio* of  $703\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree of the meridian<sup>7</sup>. But nothing is more

<sup>7</sup> Eratosthenes and Strabo allow 5,000 stades between the parallels of Syene and Alexandria: and between those of Alexandria and Rhodes, Eratosthenes has 3,750, Strabo, 3,600; Strabo, p. 114, 115, 116. Syene appears to be in about  $24^\circ$  lat. Alexandria in  $31^\circ 11'$ , Rhodes in  $36^\circ 20'$ . If the two intervals are taken separately, the first of 5,000 stades, on  $7^\circ\frac{1}{2}$  the ratio is 696: and the second of 3,750, and 3,600, on  $5^\circ\frac{1}{2}$ , the ratios

certain than that Strabo, if his text be not corrupted in this place, supposed that a Roman mile contained no more than 8, or at the utmost  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stadia; for in page 322, he reduces a large number of MP. into stades; first at the rate of 8, seemingly on his own judgment; and afterwards says, that if the opinion of Polybius is to be followed,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a stade must be added, as he has allowed  $8\frac{1}{3}$  to a MP. It is certain that  $8\frac{1}{3}$  of the Olympic stades of 600 feet are equal to 5000 feet, or 1000 paces, the Roman mile: but it is as certain, that the standard of Strabo, which, as we have seen, is invariably of 700 to a degree, required  $9\frac{1}{3}$  to make a Roman mile. How then can we reconcile such a difference, in a matter so plain and simple? Is it not more probable that in the copies of Strabo, 8 has been substituted for 9, than that he should himself have been guilty of so palpable an error? But it will even appear, that whatsoever the *opinion* of Polybius may have been (and, by the bye, the passage referred to, by Strabo, must have occurred in a part of the works of Polybius which is now lost) his own examples of distance will be found to give about  $9\frac{1}{3}$  stades to a Roman mile, agreeing with the standard of Strabo<sup>8</sup>.

On a review of the lines of distance which form

are respectively  $728\frac{1}{3}$ , and 699. Thus the intervals are not ill proportioned; especially, if Strabo be followed throughout. Strabo's mean is  $697\frac{1}{4}$ , Eratosthenes,  $709\frac{1}{2}$ ; mean of both  $703\frac{1}{4}$ .

<sup>8</sup> May it not have been, that the prevalent idea of the proportion of 8 stades to a MP. induced the schoolmen to *supply* a deficiency in the text; and to place an 8 where a 9 had originally stood?

the basis of the geography of Eratosthenes and Strabo, along the Mediterranean, it appears that a greater number than 700, perhaps 710, or even more, are required to make a degree. This seems to shew, that the Greeks had originally fixed on a lower standard than 700; for these lines could only be made up from computations which had existed long before the times of those geographers; and which may be found in part, in the *Periplus of Scylax*. But it clearly appears, from the result of the lines across Asia, and which were obtained from notices collected by Alexander's officers, at a later period, that the stade of 700 was in use with them. And, in effect, the examples adduced from Eratosthenes and Strabo may be said to agree to their established canon of 700; taken at a mean of the whole.

M. D'Anville, in his *Traité des Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 71, and 74, cites two examples in Gaul and Italy, in which the stade of Strabo produces 750; the first on a line of 160, the other of 2,800. However, it appears pretty certain, from the great extent of the distances above given, as well as from the stated number set forth by Eratosthenes and Strabo, that not only the standard intended by them, was of 700 to a degree of the meridian, but that the examples collected from them agree to it<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Examples from ERATOSTHENES and STRABO.

I. Distances in the Mediterranean reckoned chiefly along the  
coasts.

1. Between the Promontory of *Sacrum* (Cape St. Vincent) and *Canopus* (Abukeir,) through the Strait of Gibraltar, Car-

It has been said that Strabo has quoted a *lost* passage in Polybius, to shew that according to his

thage, &c. ERATOSTHENES reckons 24,500 stadia; see Strabo, lib. i. p. 64. The distance is about 2008 G. miles. Hence arises a ratio of . . . . . 732

2. Between the Sacrum Promontory and Issus, through Calpe, Sicily, Crete, and Rhodes, STRABO reckons 27,500 stadia. (See Gosselin, who has collected the particulars, p. 63). The distance is about 2267 G. miles, and gives a ratio of . . . 728

3. Between Rhodes and Issus, being a portion of the last line, STRABO allows 5000 stadia: p. 106, 125. The distance is 407 G. miles *direct*. Hences arises a ratio of . . . . . 737

As these very long lines of distance must necessarily be made up of several shorter ones, each of which may have some degree of inflection from the other, it must happen (as in the case of Herodotus's road to Susa) that the number of stades represent much longer lines of distance; in other words, that the ratio must be made up of a smaller number of stades, to any given distance. Perhaps 710 may be fully equal to the proportion; as the 4 next lines drawn across the open sea give  $706\frac{1}{2}$  . 710

## II. Distances across open seas.

4. Between *Phycus* Promontory in *Cyrenaica*, and that of *Tenarus* in Greece, 2800 stadia. Strabo, p. 837. (Pliny, lib. v. c. 5, has 350 MP. = 2800 stadia also.) The distance is 224 G. miles across; whence a ratio of . . . . . 750

5. Between the port of *Cyrene* and *Criu Metopon* in *Crete*, 2000 stadia; Strabo, p. 838; distance 175 G. miles direct; ratio . . . . . 686

6. Between the Promontory *Pachynum* in *Sicily*, and *Criu Metopon* in *Crete*, 4500, to 4600 stades, Strabo, p. 106 and 363. The distance 400 G. miles: whence 675 to 690: mean  $682\frac{1}{2}$

7. Between the Promontory of *Samonium* in *Crete*, and *Rhodes*, 1000 stadia; Strabo, p. 106. The distance is 80 G. miles, whence . . . . . 750

The mean of the four last, taken collectively at 10,350 stades, to 879 G. miles, is . . . . .  $706\frac{1}{2}$

idea,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  stades formed a Roman mile; but that  $9\frac{1}{2}$  is the result of the examples of distance. He says,

III. (Land Routes.)

8. Between Issus and the Caspian Strait, see Gosselin, p. 64, is 10,000 stadia. We measure on the map, 760 G. miles direct, which at 700 to a degree, produce only 8860 stades. Hence there is a deficiency of 1140: and it appears that the road distance must have been intended, as  $\frac{1}{8}$  part added, comes within 32 stades, or about 3 miles. If we add to 760, one-eighth, or 95, the sum is 855 G. miles; whence the result will be to a degree . . . . . 702

9. Between the Pass of Mount *Zagrus*, and the *Caspian Strait*, Strabo, p. 525, allows 4100 stades. The direct distance is 308 G. miles, equal to 3593 stades of 700 to 1°. If we add to 308, one-eighth, or  $38\frac{1}{2}$  G. miles, the sum is 346 G. miles; and the deficiency will be 58 stades, or about 5 miles. The result . . . . . 710

10. Between the *Caspian Strait* and *Aria* (Herat), Strabo, p. 513, allows 6400 stadia. It appears, however, that there is an error, and that the sum should be 5594: for Strabo, p. 514, allows only 4530 between *Aria* and *Hecatompylos*, through which latter the road lay, from the Strait; and although he allows 1960, p. 514, between the Strait and *Hecatompylos*, yet Pliny, lib. vi. c. 15, shortens it to 1064, which indeed agrees to the distance, taking *Damgan* for *Hecatompylos*. The distance is 443 G. miles, to which add  $\frac{1}{8}$  or 55, the sum is 498 G. miles; and the result . . . . . 675

11. *Hecatompylos* to *Aria*: (*Damgan* to Herat) a portion of the former route. Given at 4530 stadia: distance direct, 365 G. miles. Add  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or 45; total 410. Result . . . . 663

12. Between *Babylon* and the *Sea*. Strabo, p. 80, allows 3000 stadia; but both Pliny and Arrian make it 3300. The direct distance is  $259\frac{1}{2}$ ; add  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or  $32\frac{1}{2}$ ; total 292; result 678

The mean of these five last, collectively, 27,524 stades, to 2401 G. miles, is . . . . . 688

however, lib. iii. c. 4, that the Romans, having measured certain roads in Spain, set up marks at the distance of every *eight stadia*. No one can well doubt, that these intervals were *Roman miles*: but this is quite contrary to the quotation of Strabo; and one is puzzled what to think of the matter. It would seem, however, that if Polybius is right (and in this Pliny will be found to agree,) the Romans had a stadium of their own, equal to the eighth part of their mile, or 625 Roman feet.

But by a comparison of the numbers of stades in Polybius, with the ground, a result of 696 appears: by which we can only conclude, that although he describes a stade as the 8th part of a mile, yet that he uses a different standard in giving the extent of countries and roads; and that, apparently, of the ancient Greek *Itinerary* stade; since it approaches so near it: for about 600 of the Roman stades are equal to a degree; whilst his result is 696, or nearly

Sea routes <i>generally</i> . . . . .	710
—across seas . . . . .	706½
Land routes . . . . .	688
	Mean of all . . . . . 701½

It may be added, that a line from the *Troade* to *Chalcedon*, and thence coasting the Euxine, through *Heraclea*, *Carambis*, *Sinope*, *Amisus*, *Trapezus*, and the mouth of the *Phasis*, to *Di-oscurias*, producing 864 G. miles, is given by Strabo (collected by Gosselin, in pages 86 and 98) at 10,100 stadia; consequently the rate - - - - - 701½

The distances are taken on D'Anville's map.

that of Strabo and Eratosthenes. Here follows the detail :

1. Between the Strait of Gibraltar and the *Philenian* Altars near *Cyrene*, on more than 16,000 stades; the distance through *Carthage* and the Island of the *Lotophagi* being 1,407 G. miles, the result will be . . . . 682 stades to a degree.

2. Between the aforesaid Strait and the extremity of the *Pyrenees*, 8000 stadia; the distance, allowing inflections of the road  $\frac{1}{5}$  part, 630 G. miles . . . . . 762

3. Between the Strait and *Carthage*, 3,000 stades, 259 G. miles . . . . . 695

4. Between *Carthage* and the river *Ebro*, 2,600 stades, 219 G. miles . . . . . 712

5. Between the *Ebro* and *Emporium* 1,600 stades, 152 G. miles . . . . . 632

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Mean of all, on 24,000 stadia . . . 696

Pliny, as appears by a comparison of his statements with those of the Greeks, invariably reduces *their* stades to Roman miles, at the rate of 8 to a mile. The instances are very many, in which he recounts the measures of roads and countries that occur in the Greek authors. He says, lib. ii. c. 23, that a stade consists of 125 paces, equal to 625 Roman feet. Now as the Grecian stade mentioned by Herodotus (and often called the *Olympic* by succeeding authors) consisted not of 625, but of 600 feet, one must naturally suppose that Pliny meant a *Roman*



stade, admitting that such a measure actually existed; (and Dr. Arbuthnot inserts it in his Tables of Roman measures<sup>1</sup>;) since it differs so considerably, both from the aforesaid stade described by Herodotus, and from the itinerary stade.

This supposition will at least give some degree of consistency to Pliny's calculations; since he may have known of no other stade than that of 625 feet; 8 of which were really equal to a Roman mile, as he has calculated. And if he had no other knowledge of the Greek stadium (whether *Olympic* or *Itinerary*) than from books, the mistake might easily enough be made.

The examples that occur in Pliny's statement of distances, give the same results with those of Eratosthenes and Nearchus respectively, which must of course happen, as he copies their numbers. But following his own standard of 8 to a mile, he made too great a number of miles, out of these stades. However, furnished with the above information, we are enabled to turn them back again into stades, by multiplying by *eight*.

There is one line of distance in Pliny, which occurs no where else, and which is well worth remarking. In lib. vi. c. 24, he says, that "the distance sailed by Nearchus, between the mouth of the Indus and Babylon, was 2500 Roman miles," and these we must suppose, were calculated as usual, at the rate of 8 stades to a mile; so that the original num-

<sup>1</sup> It has also appeared in a foregoing page, that Polybius actually described such a stade on the Roman roads.

ber of stades would have been, of course, 20,000. Now as he also says, that the distance between Babylon and the sea (at the mouth of the Euphrates) was 412 MP. equal to 3296 stades, there remain of course, 16,704 for the distance between the mouths of the two rivers, Indus and Euphrates.

We measure, on the charts of Captains M'Cluer, and Robinson, 1330 G. miles, on the line that Nearchus may have been supposed to trace, in his navigation along the coasts of India, Karmania, and Persia, &c. from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates<sup>2</sup>; and as the number of stades was about 16,700, the number to a degree will be  $753\frac{1}{2}$ . But as the numbers of stades copied from Eratosthenes, were at the rate of 700 to a degree, Pliny's result should be a mean, between that and  $753\frac{1}{2}$ ; and of course,  $726\frac{3}{4}$ ; say 727.

The stade of Nearchus, collected from the abstract of his journal in Arrian (that is, in the *parts* where we have been able to follow him) is of a standard *somewhat longer* than that arising from Pliny's report of the *whole* distance: for it is at the rate of 729 to a degree. It is certain that a great part of the numbers are corrupted, but there occur, nevertheless, certain portions of distance, amounting in the aggregate to about 7000 stades (or  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole distance sailed), in which the report of Arrian coincides with that of Strabo, and no less with the actual geography. Within these spaces, then, the

<sup>2</sup> That is, the *ancient* mouth, now named *Chor Abdilla*.

mean result is 729½, although different portions of it vary from 722, to 778<sup>3</sup>. In effect then, the difference between Arrian and Pliny, is far from considerable; and it is rather wonderful, that a ship's reckoning should agree so nearly with the mean ratio of the land routes<sup>4</sup>.

It appears unnecessary to bring together any more examples, to prove what was the generally received opinion amongst the Greeks, concerning the length of the stade in use, as an Itinerary measure: it evidently came between the 700th and 750th part of a degree of a great circle.

If Herodotus is founded, in respect of the number of stades, on the road to Susa, it appears, when the distances collected from Strabo and Eratosthenes are added, that the distance across Asia, from *Ephesus* to *Aria*, more than 20,000 stades, was taken at the scale of 700 to a degree, nearly. At the same time, the whole length of the Mediterranean, more than

	G. M.	Arrian's stades.	Result.
<sup>3</sup> 1. Between the rivers Indus and Arabius . . . . .	65½	850	778
2. From NE point of <i>Kismish</i> I. to the river <i>Endian</i> ( <i>Arosis</i> ) . . . . .	514½	6200	723½
Mean of the aggregate sums . . . . .	580	7050	729½

<sup>4</sup> The reader will perceive also the near proportions between this stade of Nearchus, and that arising on the routes *through the Mediterranean*, taken at large: Nearchus's being 729, the others from 728 to 737.

27,000 stadia, as well as the track of Nearchus, 17,000, together with the march of Xenophon, and divers portions of roads, in Greece, Spain, Italy, and Gaul, were calculated on a scale between 710 and 750. It is true, that the length and breadth of the Mediterranean, and the trace of Nearchus's voyage, may be regarded as founded on the calculations of seamen; but those seamen must have referred to some particular standard, and commonly sailed too near the land, to be much deceived in their distance. They even knew how to calculate distances in the open sea; for the mean of 4 lines of distance, collectively amounting to 10,350 stades, comes very near to the other proportion.

As the distances along the Mediterranean must, in the nature of things, have been determined long before those on the continent of Asia, the inference naturally is, that a stade of a *shorter* standard than that of 700 existed in *very early* times: and that, by the recurrence of it so often, it was deeply imprinted on the minds of the people, although philosophers or princes may have sought to adopt a standard somewhat different <sup>5</sup>.

We shall now recapitulate the different results, on examples from the date of Herodotus, inclusive.

<sup>5</sup> Such changes have often been attempted, and sometimes effected, by sovereigns. In India, both Acbar, and Shah Jehan, changed the standard of the *cos*, in their regulations, but could never alter the popular opinion respecting it. The old *cos* had been too long established, to allow of a change. See Memoir of Map of Hindoostan.

Herodotus . . . . .	732	} Greatest differ- ence 54, or a- bout $\frac{1}{14}$ th part.
Pausanias . . . . .	707	
Xenophon . . . . .	750	
Eratosthenes . . . . .	700	
Strabo . . . . .	700	
Polybius . . . . .	696	
Pliny . . . . .	727	
Arrian (from Nearchus)	729	

Mean of all .  $717\frac{5}{8}$ , or 718 <sup>6</sup>.

This mean stade, in English feet, would be equal to  $505\frac{1}{2}$ . The proportion on the stade of Strabo, of 700 to a degree, would be 524 feet; and on that of Xenophon, of 750, 489 feet; whilst that calculated on the 150th part of a mean march of our scale, would be 493. Thus our mean march agrees to Xenophon's, as 493 to 489: and our mean stade of 718 to that of Xenophon, as  $505\frac{1}{2}$  to 489. The differences are certainly very small <sup>7</sup>.

The above examples prove at least, that the stade of 600 Grecian feet, spoken of by Herodotus, and that of 625 Roman feet, by Pliny, *i. e.* of about 600 to a degree, could never have been applied by the *Greeks* to the measurement of roads. For the *longest* of the *Itinerary* stades is  $\frac{1}{4}$  shorter than that of 600 feet: the *shortest* of those measures  $\frac{1}{5}$  less; and the *mean* of all,  $\frac{1}{6}$  less. Had a stade of

<sup>6</sup> Had the proportion been 720, there would have been 12 stades to a geographic mile, 10,36 to a British mile.

<sup>7</sup> 150 stades (the number assigned by Xenophon and Herodotus to a *march*) of  $505\frac{1}{2}$  feet each, are equal to 14,36 B. miles.

600 feet been the standard, the examples would not, surely, have *uniformly* fallen short of it, as we find they do. Nor, on the other hand, would it have risen so far *above* the stade, applied by M. D'Anville and others to the track of Nearchus, and to the measure of ancient Babylon; that is, of 1100 to a degree, had there been any foundation for such a standard<sup>8</sup>.

With respect to the different lengths of the Itinerary stade furnished by these examples, all difficulty concerning their appearance vanishes, when one reflects that the distances in general must have been computed by land as well as by sea. The *greatest* difference, as we have seen, is about  $\frac{1}{14}$  part: and generally speaking, no more than  $\frac{1}{14}$ th. Such variations ever did, and ever will arise, on computed distances; instances of which existed on our own public roads, previous to their improvement; and which do yet exist on many of the cross roads. It is probable that Herodotus, Xenophon, Nearchus, Strabo, &c. all intended the same stade, but may have given occasion to different results, by reporting the numbers on the judgment of different persons.

We should lay more stress on that result, which arises from the ordinary march of the Greeks, as reported by Herodotus, and proved by the journal of Xenophon, to be 150 stades, than on any other *single* authority: more particularly as the scale of *that* march coincides so nearly with the result of our in-

<sup>8</sup> See Mém. Acad. Insc. Vol. xxx. and his Memoir on Babylonia, in Vol. xxvi.

quiries into the length of the *mean* march, which has been shewn to be rather above 14 road miles of British measure; the 150th part of which, 493, is no more than 4 feet longer than the stade of Xenophon;  $12\frac{1}{2}$  short of that arising on the *general mean* of all the authorities. At the same time, the stade of 600 Grecian feet would give the length of a march at no less than 17 miles, which is out of all proportion <sup>9</sup>.

It has been observed, that the mean stade of 718 to a degree, is somewhat above 500 English feet (that is  $505\frac{1}{2}$ ); and 500 Grecian feet are equal to about  $503\frac{1}{2}$  English <sup>1</sup>. A pace was no doubt the elementary part of itinerary measures amongst the Greeks, as well as other nations; and the natural pace <sup>2</sup> is nearly about 5 feet. Is it not probable that the integral measure, the stade, was made up of 100 of these? and that hence arose the stade of about 500 feet, in ordinary use? Some, we know not on what authority, have fixed the Grecian pace at more than 6 of our feet. But it would appear that they took the *orgyia* for a *pace*, although it seems to have been a *fathom*. D'Anville's *Mes. Itin.* p. 43. It is not probable that any natural pace ever extended to the length of 6 feet, or perhaps to more than 5. The Roman pace was 5 of their feet, answering to 4 feet 10 inches of our measure.

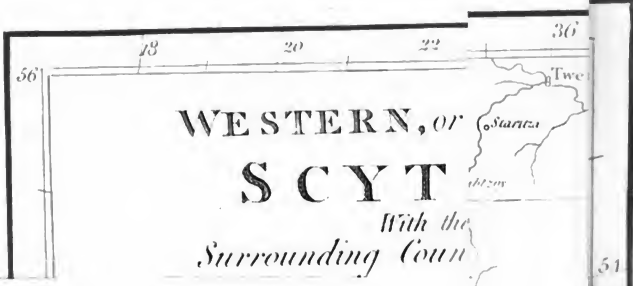
<sup>9</sup> See notes to page 29.

<sup>1</sup> A Grecian foot being equal to 12,0875 English inches. (Arbuthnot.)

<sup>2</sup> Meaning the *double step*, or *return* of the *same* foot.







WESTERN, OR  
SCYT

*With the  
Surrounding Coun*

## SECTION III.

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### OF EUROPE, ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

*The Europe of Herodotus extended far into North Asia—the southern and eastern parts best known to him—proof that he knew much more than he describes—pointed description of Thessaly—knew more than Polybius, respecting the north-east part of Europe; but was ignorant of the north-west part—Cassiterides, meant for Britain—Celtæ, and Cynæta—Italy, under the name of Œnotria—Rome, of no importance in the politics of Greece, at that day—Iberia—Course of the Danube—Great extent of Thrace—Getæ, one of its tribes believe themselves immortal—Thracian widows, like those of India, sacrifice themselves—Distinction of Eastern and Western Scythia.*

It was the idea of HERODOTUS, that EUROPE very much exceeded in *length* the other divisions of ASIA and AFRICA; but that it was far inferior in *breadth* to either; and, on the whole, that *Europe* was larger than *Asia*; Melpom. 36, 42, and 45. But he also observes, that the boundaries of Europe had not, to that time, been carefully examined; and that it was by no means certain, whether on the *east* and *north*, it was limited, or surrounded, by the ocean; Melp. 45. It follows, of course, that whatsoever tracts are described by him to extend towards *those quarters*, from the great body of Europe, taken according to the common acceptance, and which are

not classed as belonging to Asia, must necessarily have been reckoned by him a part of Europe.

He adds, that he had endeavoured, but without success, to meet with some one, who, from ocular observation, might describe to him the sea which washes the western part of Europe; concerning which part, any more than the islands called Cassiterides, from whence they were said to have their tin, he was unable to speak with decision<sup>1</sup>: but that it was nevertheless certain, that both their tin and amber *were* brought from those extreme regions; and the amber in particular, from the river *Eridanus*, which discharged itself into the North Sea. On this name *Eridanus*, our Author observes, *Thalia*, 115, that it is certainly of Greek derivation, and not barbarous; and was, as he conceives, introduced by one of their poets<sup>2</sup>.

Our Author differs from all others, *Procopius* excepted, respecting the eastern boundary of Europe. Others have assigned the *Tanais*, (or *Don*<sup>3</sup>;) but *Herodotus* extends Europe eastward to the utmost bounds of his knowledge; placing Asia rather to the

<sup>1</sup> *Thalia*, 115. His want of information, in this matter, can only be referred to the jealousy of the Phœnicians.

<sup>2</sup> *Larcher*, quoted by *Mr. Beloe*, observes, that "the *Eridanus* here alluded to, could not possibly be any other than the *Rho-daune*, which empties itself into the *Vistula*, near *Dantzic*; and on the banks of which, amber is now found in large quantities." Such a modification of the name appears very probable.

<sup>3</sup> The *Tanais* divides Asia from Europe, says *Strabo*, p. 310; *Pliny*, lib. iv. c. 12.; and *Diodorus*, lib. i. c. 4. Africa is contained between the Nile and the Pillars of Hercules; Asia between the Nile and *Tanais*, says *Polybius*, lib. iii. c. 4.

*south*, than to the *east*, of Europe. Accordingly, the Colchian Phasis is reckoned by him the common boundary of Europe and Asia<sup>4</sup>, from the point at which the Euxine ceases to form it. Beyond this, the boundary remains indefinite; but may be conceived to pass by the north of the Caspian sea, towards the mountains that give rise to the river Irtish; of which more in the sequel, when we enter into the detail of the regions properly belonging to Asia, but which he assigns to Europe.

Of this division of the earth, the parts most familiarly known to him, and to the Greeks of his time, were those situated along the Mediterranean and Euxine seas; for the extent of the former, and that of Europe along its borders, were very well known, by the frequent voyages made by the Greeks; and from the notices collected from the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Egyptians. Herodotus calls it "*the sea frequented by the Greeks.*" The extent of the western coasts of Europe, must have been known in like manner, by the voyages to and from Tartessus, Gades, the Cassiterides, and the Baltic. Such particulars could hardly have been concealed; nor would a *general* idea of *distance* and *juxtaposition* have enabled a rival to derive much advantage. But there are, however, no notices concerning either the extent of the Mediterranean sea, or of the western coasts of Europe, to be found in our Author: nor indeed, could they be looked for, since such were foreign to

<sup>4</sup> In his specification of the *regions* of *Asia*, Melp. 37, *et seq.* the Phasis is evidently taken for the boundary of *Asia*. Procopius speaks positively; Bell. Goth. lib. iv.

the scope of his history. Much less could it be expected that he should enter into a description of the geography of *Greece*, and the surrounding countries; although the *scene* of the glorious events which it is the ultimate purpose of his book to record. The reason clearly is, that he considered himself as speaking to men who were perfectly well informed on the subject: so that, instead of describing the geography of Greece, he even alludes to certain parts of it, as well as of Italy, in order to explain his descriptions of other countries. For instance, in the description of the *Taurian Chersonese*, in Melpom. 99, he refers to certain parts of the coasts of *Attica* and *Magna Græcia*. His descriptions of the country of Thessaly, the Strait of Thermopylæ, and other places, prove how well he had considered the scenes of particular actions: and we shall select, in a note, that of *Thessaly*, as one of the most pointed, clear, and concise imaginable <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Polymnia, 129. "Thessaly is said to have been formerly a *marsh*, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains; to the east by *Pelion* and *Ossa*, whose bases meet each other; to the north by *Olympus*, to the west by *Pindus*; to the south by *Othrys*. The space betwixt these is *THESSALY*, into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five, the *Peneus*, the *Apidanus*, the *Onochonous*, the *Enipeus*, and the *Pamisus*: all these, flowing from the mountains which surround Thessaly, into the plain, are till then distinguished by specific names. They afterwards unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union, they take the name of *Peneus* only. It is said, that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the lake *Bœbeis*, had not, as now, any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly a sea." The

Had he written a system of geography, it would have been unquestionably his province to describe Greece, &c.: but as a historian, he *refers* to the *known* parts of geography, to illustrate his history; and when the geography was supposed to be unknown to his readers, or not sufficiently generalized, he very properly enters into a description of it.

Since our Author has given no idea of the *extent* of Europe, westward, it is not possible to know what his opinions were, on that subject; that is, *accurately*; for it will appear hereafter, in discussing the subject of Africa, that he *seems* to allow an extent of space between *Egypt* and *Mount Atlas* that agrees generally with the actual geography: but the notices are very far from being positive, and the chain of distance is so often interrupted, that, although much internal evidence arises out of the whole *data*, yet the question by no means admits of direct proof.

There can, however, be no doubt that Herodotus knew, and that critically, the extent of the Mediterranean, and of Europe along its coasts; since it is known from the *Periplus* of Scylax, written as it may be concluded, long before the days of our Author, that the distances had been estimated generally, throughout the Mediterranean; and along the western coast of Africa, as far as Arguin at least <sup>6</sup>.

remarks of Xerxes on Thessaly in the succeeding chapter, are worth attention; as is the description of *Thermopylæ* in chapter 176.

<sup>6</sup> The *Periplus* of Scylax is supposed to have been written subsequent to the expedition of Hanno, and before the time of Xerxes.

From *this* work then, or from such kind of notices, existing among the maritime powers, on the borders of that sea, it may be conceived that Herodotus formed his ideas of the extent of the Mediterranean; of Europe; and of Africa. It may reasonably be concluded that succeeding geographers adopted the same system; gradually correcting it in particular parts, as discovery or improvement furnished new lights towards it. This may be traced in the different statements of the length of the Island of Crete; which, from 2,500 stadia in the time of Scylax, was reduced first to 2,300, by Sosicrates, and then to 2,000, by Strabo. And this latter computation, as may be seen in page 19, comes very near the truth; allowing somewhat for the indentings of the coast. But errors with respect to some grand points of relative position, having remained on the continent of Asia, in the system of Eratosthenes, notwithstanding the notices furnished by the expedition of Alexander, it may be supposed that errors also continued to exist in the Mediterranean. The great source of these errors seems to have been, the difficulty of adjusting any two positions, in respect of a particular meridian, when widely removed in point of parallel; without the aid of celestial observations, or of the magnetic needle.

If Eratosthenes appreciated the extent of the Mediterranean, by the computations which existed in the time of Herodotus, this latter must have reckoned it too long by about a 15th part; for such it appears to be, on a comparison of the number of stades given by Eratosthenes (30,000,) between Cape

St. Vincent and Issus; allowing a reasonable degree of inflection to the line of distance on which he reckoned.

But Strabo, who allowed no more than 27,500, fell short by a small proportion, *i. e.*  $\frac{1}{4}$  only. We have here calculated on the *mean* stade, arising on the examples before cited; that is, 718 to a degree. It is obvious, that if 700, the proportion assumed by Eratosthenes and Strabo, had been adopted, the error in excess would have been very great indeed: but, it is probable that this standard was assumed, long after the calculations adopted by them had been formed on a shorter standard. And on the whole, it appears to us, that Strabo approached nearer to the just measure of the length of the Mediterranean, than any other of the ancient geographers. Ptolemy, strange to tell, was nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  in excess!

It has been suggested that it was foreign to the plan of our Author's history, to say much concerning the geography of *Western* Europe, had he been well informed concerning it: but, we conceive that he had a very limited knowledge even of its coasts; for Polybius, at a much later period, observes, lib. iii. c. 4, that the part of Europe beyond Spain, bordered by the exterior sea (or Atlantic), "had been but lately discovered, and was possessed by a race of barbarous people. That those parts of Europe lying between *Narbonne* and the *Tanais*, are also unknown; and that the reports concerning them ought to pass for fable or invention." Now, taking *Narbonne* for that part of France which borders on the Mediterranean, it appears that Polybius, who wrote at about three



centuries after Herodotus, was ignorant of *all* the northern and eastern part of Europe: and probably of some parts of it that were known to Herodotus; for instance, Scythia and Sarmatia: but it may be inferred that the knowledge of the latter, with respect to the western parts, was not more extensive than that of Polybius. Even to the time of Strabo (admitting that he possessed all the geographical knowledge of his time), the form of the coasts of France and Spain was so little known, that he had no suspicion of the existence of that wide and deep gulf called the Bay of Biscay, and Gulf of Gascony. The ancients appear to have had no name for this singular bay, although every division and almost every corner of the Mediterranean had appropriate names, and in some instances more than one. And so vague were the ideas entertained by Diodorus respecting positions in the Atlantic, that he says, lib. v. c. 2, that the *Cassiterides*, or the Tin Islands, are situated opposite to *Iberia*, or Spain.

After our Author's frank confession of his ignorance respecting the detail of the western coasts of Europe, and of the *Cassiterides*, it will not be expected that he should have had any idea commensurate to the extent and importance of the British islands: or that they contained an area equal to Greece and Italy collectively.

It is curious to trace the progress of knowledge respecting this matter, as far as it can be collected from books. Eratosthenes first gave a rude idea of the form of Britain; but was ignorant of the existence of Ireland. It may indeed be suspected, that

Ireland was never known to the Greeks during the period of their independency; for no notices concerning it appear, even in Polybius. Strabo knew of the existence of both, but the true form of neither: and in the position of Ireland, he erred so much, as to place it on the *north* of Britain, and at such a distance from it, as to occupy the situation of the Islands of Faro, nearly; pages 72, 115. He supposed it to be very large: but by placing it so wide of its true position, it may justly be doubted whether the Romans had ever visited it, to that time <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo describes its inhabitants to be *completely barbarous*; pages 115 and 201; and its climate to be such, as to be almost uninhabitable, through extremity of *cold*. This fact, perhaps, was *assumed* by those who assigned it so northerly a position; since Ireland is known to have a more temperate atmosphere than Germany.

It is to be observed, that the inhabitants of our island are also spoken of by some of the Roman writers, as being not a little barbarous; Cæsar, in particular, mentions certain customs, which are almost too indelicate for belief. In the following passage in Diodorus, lib. v. c. 2, it is not altogether certain, though highly probable, that the *country* intended is Ireland. The *people*, however, are unquestionably *British*; and therefore a British colony settled in Ireland should be meant: and indeed, Ptolemy places *Brigantes* in Ireland, as well as in England. Diodorus then, speaking of the *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*, and their northern neighbours, says, that they are so fierce and cruel, that it is reported that they *eat men, like the Britons of IRIS, (or IRIN.)*

But the same author, and in the same chapter, gives a very handsome character of the British; such indeed, as we ought to be proud of, and what we are accustomed to value ourselves on: that of being UPRIGHT and SINCERE. And since he applies this character so pointedly to the people of this island, it may with more probability be supposed, that in the former case, he spoke of some other country.

Pliny was better informed respecting its situation, for he places it at no greater distance than 30 MP. from the *Silures*; (South Wales;) that is 24 G. miles: and although it may be about 16 or 17 more, yet this must be reckoned a near approximation for those times. In the same place, however, lib. iv. c. 16, he allows 50 MP. or 40 G. miles, between Boulogne and the nearest part of the opposite coast, which space ought to have been better known<sup>8</sup>.

Ptolemy's delineation comes the nearest of any to the shape of South Britain and Ireland; and, of the two, much the nearest to Ireland, whose dimensions are also very near the truth, whilst those of England are very faulty, it being represented too long and too narrow; which latter is an error of a contrary nature from what commonly happens. Scotland is unaccountably made to lie east and west, instead of north and south; but Scotland was much less known than England. Ireland, in respect of position, is placed too far to the north; for although Pliny knew that its south-east angle lay opposite to South Wales, yet Ptolemy places it opposite to North Wales, and twice as far off as it ought to be. We solicit the indulgence of the reader for this digression, on an occasion where our Author is silent, and where we feel ourselves so deeply interested. To a philosopher, the changes in the comparative state of

<sup>8</sup> Pliny allows the dimensions of Ireland, (following Agrippa,) to be 600 MP. by 300; which breadth, and no more, he allows also to Britain; whose length was supposed to be 800. Both were, of course, over-rated; and particularly Ireland, whose *length* hardly exceeds the given *breadth*.

nations in different ages of the world, are very striking, and lead one to reflect what may be the future state of some *now* obscure corner of New Holland, or of North America; since our own Island was known only for its tin mines, by the most celebrated of ancient nations, whose descendants, in turn, rank no higher with us, than as dealers in figs and currants.

Our Author had heard of the *CELTÆ*, who lived beyond the columns of Hercules, and bordered on the *CYNESIÆ*, or *CYNETÆ*, the most remote of all the nations, who inhabited the western part of Europe; Euterpe, 33, and Melpom. 49. Who the latter were intended for, we know not. The Danube is said to spring from amongst the *CELTÆ*<sup>9</sup>, so that, if he knew the true position of its source, he must have meant to include the inhabitants of Western Europe, generally, under one denomination of *CELTÆ*; and which might probably have been correct, at that day<sup>1</sup>.

Italy, or part of it, he designs under the name of *Ænotria*, on occasion of the retreat, and settlement of the Phocæans of Iönia there<sup>2</sup>. *Umbria*<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>9</sup> The place of its source is said to be named *Pyrene*; Euterpe, 33.

<sup>1</sup> It seems as if Diodorus regarded as *Scythians* all those situated to the eastward of the *Celts*; lib. v. c. 2. We shall have to remark the same of Pliny.

<sup>2</sup> Clio, 167. They first settled in the *Ænussæan* Islands adjacent to *Chios*; thence they proceeded to *Cyrnus* (Corsica), where they had previously founded a city named *Alalia*; and finally to *Ænotria*, where they built the city of *Hyela*, in the tract between *Pæstum* and Cape *Palinurus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Umbria* was the seat of the *Tyrrhenians*, from whence the

*Liguria*, in the north of Italy, as well as *Tarentum*, *Crotona*, *Sybaris*, &c. in the south, (or *Magna Græcia*;) are mentioned by him. He moreover resided a considerable time at *Thurium*, a Grecian colony, situated near to, or on the site of, *Sybaris*.

He mentions occasionally most of the larger islands of the Mediterranean, as Sicily, Crete, Sardinia, Cyprus, Corsica <sup>4</sup>, but is silent concerning Rome: and considering that at the probable date of his history the Romans were confined to the centre of Italy; had hardly taken *Veii*; and had not appeared in fleets on the Mediterranean; what was there for a Grecian to remark concerning them <sup>5</sup>? Spain, under the name of *Iberia*, is mentioned, as well as *Tartessus*, near Cadiz: but his acknowledging that he had not been able to meet with people who could give him any description of the Euro-

adjacent sea was sometimes denominated. The Tyrrhenians were a colony from *Lydia*, who migrated on occasion of a famine. They settled in *Umbria*, called also *Etruria*, (now *Tuscany*;) and changed their ancient appellation of *Lydians* for that of *Tyrrhenians*, after Tyrrhenus, the son of their former sovereign, who conducted them; Clio, 94. In c. 166, the Tyrrhenian fleet, in conjunction with that of Carthage, attack the Phœcean fleet of *Cyrnus*.

<sup>4</sup> That is, *Sicily* under the name of *Sicania*; Polym. 170: *Corsica* under that of *Cyrnus*; Clio, 165.

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, in his History of the Expedition of Alexander, lib. vii. c. 1, speaking of the future plans of that conqueror, after his return from India, says, that a report prevailed, amongst others, that he intended "to sail round Sicily, by the Promontory of *Japygium*: for then it was that the Roman name began to spread far and wide, and gave him much umbrage." This was much more than a century after the date of our Author's history.

pean seas, appears decisive of his want of knowledge of the western side of Europe.

He remarks that the Danube passes through the *centre* of Europe, and afterwards by an *oblique* course enters Scythia; Melpom. 49. This description is just, for its general course does really divide the central parts of Europe in the midst; and having arrived in the neighbourhood of the Euxine, it takes a sudden turn to the north-east, towards Scythia.

He appears to have had a very indistinct idea of the tract between the Adriatic sea and the Danube. The Eneti, (*Heneti* or *Veneti*,) Terp. 9, are said to border on the Adriatic, and the *Sigynæ* to have extended to their neighbourhood<sup>6</sup>. But the context, as it stands, appears contradictory; for the *Sigynæ* are said to lie *beyond* the Danube, and yet to extend almost to the *Eneti* on the *Adriatic*. The passage alluded to is as follows:

“ With respect to the more northern parts of this region (Thrace) and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet decisively ascertained. *What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space.* The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the *Sigynæ*, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of 5 digits: they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness; for which reason carriages are here very

<sup>6</sup> The *Eneti*, in *Clio*, 196, are said to be of *Illyrian* origin.

common. The confines of this people extend almost to the *Eneti* on the *Adriatic*. They call themselves a colony of Medes."—Terp. 9. Now he had been speaking of Thrace, and of its northern part, concerning which nothing decisive had been ascertained; and after this he introduces the country *north* of the Danube, as a *vast* and almost endless space; and says that it is inhabited by the *Sigynæ*, who extend almost to the *Adriatic*. May it not be suspected, that the sentence respecting the country beyond the Danube is misplaced altogether; and that the Author intended to say that "the *Sigynæ* inhabited the northern part of Thrace," which lay, however, on the south or Grecian side of the Danube?

Thrace included a considerable tract of Europe in early times, but not to the extent that the expression of Herodotus would lead us to expect. "THRACE," says he, "next to INDIA, is the most considerable;" Terp. 3. But as this country is confined on the east and south by the sea, and on the north by the Danube; and as Macedonia and Pæonia are mentioned by our Author as distinct countries, the extent of Thrace, even allowing it to extend into Dardania and Mæsia, must be much more circumscribed than the idea of our Author allows. It has, however, more extended limits in his geography than in that of succeeding authors; and perhaps might have included most of the space along the south of the Danube, between the *Euxine* and *Istria*; meeting the borders of Macedonia, Pæonia, &c. on the south: and the *Sigynæ* above mentioned might have occu-

pied the N.W. quarter ; the modern *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and *Croatia* <sup>7</sup>.

The inhabitants of the N.E. angle of Thrace formed by the Euxine and the oblique course of the Danube, are the *Getæ* of our Author. They were reduced by Darius Hystaspes in his way to Scythia, and are classed as Thracians ; Melpom. 93 <sup>8</sup>. Herodotus observes generally of the Thracians, that “ if they were either under the government of an individual, or united amongst themselves, their strength would render them invincible : but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation ; but except the *Getæ*, the *Trausi*, and those *beyond Crestona* <sup>9</sup>, they are marked by a general similitude of manners ;” Terp. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Signia* is a position, in ancient geography, on the Adriatic towards the ancient seats of the *Veneti*. Query, has it any connection with the *Sigynæ* of our Author ?

<sup>8</sup> Subsequent authors place the *Getæ* on the north of the Danube, and in *Moldavia*.

<sup>9</sup> *Crestona*, or *Crestonia*, lay between *Mygdonia* and *Sintica*, and may be reckoned the eastern frontier of *Macedonia*, towards *Thrace*. The river *Chidorus*, which discharges itself into the *Axius*, near Pella, rises in *Crestona*, and flows through *Mygdonia* ; Polymnia, c. 124, 127.

In *Clio*, 57, the *Crestonians* are said to be a remnant of *Pelasgians*, situated beyond the *Tyrrhenians*, but who formerly dwelt in the country afterwards named *Thessaly*, and were neighbours to the *Dorians*.

It may be suspected that *Tyrrhenian* is a mistake, and that *Thermæan* should be substituted for it ; as *Therma*, afterwards *Thessalonica*, agrees to the situation. *Therma* and its gulf are mentioned in *Polym.* 121, 123, 124. We have heard of no *Tyrrhenians*, but those of Italy.



“ The *Getæ*,” says Herodotus, “ are a people who *pretend to immortality*: whenever any one dies they believe that he is removed to the presence of their god *Zamolxis*: they are of all the Thracians the *bravest* and the most *upright* ;” *Melp.* 93, 94.

The Thracians *beyond Crestona* are remarkable for having amongst them the same horrible custom which prevails in India, that of their widows sacrificing themselves at the funerals of their husbands; but the bodies are buried, and not burnt, as in India<sup>1</sup>. It appears that Herodotus did not know that this custom prevailed in India: and indeed his knowledge of that country was very much confined.

No mention is made concerning the belief of the immortality of the soul, amongst these Thracians, as amongst the *Getæ*; but it surely is proved by this very circumstance: for what else could induce this voluntary sacrifice?

It appears almost a matter of certainty that He-

<sup>1</sup> “ Each person has several wives. If the husband dies, a great contest arises amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved. She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation, on the tomb of her husband, with whom she is afterwards buried. His other wives esteem this an affliction; and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.” *Terpsichore*, c. 5.

We cannot help remarking (having ourselves witnessed a sacrifice of this kind in India,) how many points of resemblance there are between what we saw, and the mode described by Herodotus. It may be added, that there occurs in Diodorus, a description of the burning alive of an Indian widow, which agrees exactly with the present practice; of which more in the sequel.

Herodotus knew no particulars of the geography of Western Europe, between Scythia (on the Euxine,) and the Bay of Biscay, on the east and west; and between the Alps and Carpathian mountains on the south, and the shores of the Baltic on the north. Concerning the position of this northern sea, and the countries beyond Scythia, more will be said under the head of Scythia, and its concerns; as, in order to explain the subject with effect, much preliminary matter must be gone into.

The country of SCYTHIA, he places next in order to Thrace, going north-eastward, along the shores of the Euxine and Mæotis. "Where Thrace ends, Scythia begins," says he, *Melp.* 99. It will appear, however, that the Scythians of Herodotus were the *Sarmatæ* and *Getæ* of the Romans; and his *Masagetæ*, the *Scythians* of the same people; as well as of the Greeks in general, from the date of Alexander's expedition. But as the subject is intricate and extensive, and requires much discussion and elucidation, it may be proper at the outset to take a comprehensive view of it: and afterwards to arrange it under the distinct heads of *Western* and *Eastern* Scythia; the former of which belongs to the division of Europe, the latter to that of Asia; following the rule that we have prescribed to ourselves in the division of the work.

The ancients distinguished two countries by the name of SCYTHIA, the one extending along the north of the Euxine, the other beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes. The latter was again subdivided into two parts, by the chain of *Imaus*, a branch projecting northward from the *Indian Caucasus*: and which

subdivisions were, from that circumstance, distinguished by the names of Scythia *intra, et extra, IMAUM.*

The Western, or Euxine Scythia, was the one invaded by Darius Hystaspes : on which occasion, the Iönians, by preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, secured his retreat ; and the Eastern Scythia, called also the country of the Massagetæ, was the one invaded by Cyrus ; in which, according to our Author, as well as Justin and Diodorus, he lost his life.

Herodotus describes the Western Scythia to extend from the lower part of the Danube, and the country now called Hungary, on the west, to the Tanais on the east ; a tract which was afterwards better known by the name of the *European Sarmatia.* The *Asiatic Sarmatia,* and other tracts, filled up the space between the Eastern and Western Scythias ; which space may be understood to extend to the river *Daix,* (the present *Jaik,* or more properly *Daek,*) where the Eastern Scythia began, and extended eastward to the country of the *Yugures,* or *Oigurs.*

It would appear that Herodotus was not decided in his opinion, whether or not, the Massagetæ were to be regarded as a *Scythian* nation ; but subsequent writers have almost universally reckoned them such. So that the *proper* Scythians of Herodotus, were those at the Euxine ; and those of succeeding writers, at the Caspian (or rather Aral) and Jaxartes. For our Author, who calls the Massagetæ a great and powerful nation, says, “ they are by *some* esteemed a *Scythian* nation :” and that, “ in their

clothes and food, they *resemble* the Scythians;" implying that they were not confessedly a Scythian nation. He says moreover, "what the Greeks assert in *general* of the *Scythians*, is true only of the *Massagetæ*;" *Clio*, 201, 215, 216.

The Greeks appear to have first used the term *SCYTHIA*, in its application to their neighbours, the Scythians of the *Euxine*; who were also called *Getæ* and *Gothi*: and were those who afterwards subdued the Roman empire: and from which original stock, the present race of people in Europe seem to be derived<sup>2</sup>. Some modern writers of great authority have supposed that the word *Scythiæ*, *Skutæ*, or *Kuthæ*, was only another reading of *Getæ*: as also that *these* are of the same nation with the *Massagetæ*; which is, indeed, very probable; although there is no *necessity* for supposing it. Probably the early Greeks, hearing of a nation of *Getæ* beyond the Caspian and Jaxartes (for the remains of the *Getæ* existed in the same tract, and under the same name, so late as the time of Tamerlane) gave them the name of *Massa-Getæ*, to distinguish them from the *Getæ* in the west<sup>3</sup>; but might be in doubt whether to regard them *abso-*

<sup>2</sup> Pliny seems to consider the *Scythians* and *Germans*, as one and the same people: lib. iv. c. 12: as Diodorus does the people to the east of the *Celtæ*, generally; lib. v. c. 2. And Procopius, who wrote later than either, says, that the *Goths* were anciently named *Scythians*; Gothic War, lib. iv.

<sup>3</sup> There seem to have been several distinct tribes of *Getæ*, as those of the *Danube*, the *Thyssa-Getæ* on the *Wolga*, the *Tyri-Getæ* on the *Tyres*; the *Massagetæ* on the *Jaxartes*, &c.

*lutely* as Scythians. Subsequent information, particularly that derived from the expedition of Alexander, led the same Greeks to class them as Scythians: so that at last, the term *Scythian* seems to have designated *Nomadic* tribes in general; and SCYTHIA at large, a vast extent of country, including several distinct nations and tribes, between the Danube, and the extreme point of their knowledge, eastward. It was perhaps applied, much in the way, in which we apply TARTARY; that is, *indefinitely* to a space *beyond* a *certain known* boundary. Not that it is to be understood that Tartary expresses the same idea, as to extent, as Scythia did: for Scythia contained but a small proportion of what we intend by Tartary.

In our geographical details, we shall endeavour to trace the boundaries of *both* the SCYTHIAS: which, collectively, included a vast space from west to east, though apparently of no very great breadth, considered proportionally.

The Western Scythia, then, is a member of Europe, as well under the *proper* boundaries of that continent, as of those *assumed* by Herodotus; for no part of *his Scythia* extended beyond the Tanais, although between the Jaik and the Aral, we must look for a nation of Scythians, whom he represents as having *seceded* from the former nation. But it may well be suspected that those who are marked as *seceders*, approached in their geographical position so near to that of the Massagetæ, that they may have been a part of the same people; and the mistake may have arisen from an error in the sup-

posed relative positions. This will be made more apparent, in the sequel, when it is shewn that our Author supposed a vast difference in parallel, on the globe, between the Massagetæ, the Scythians of Asia, and the Euxine or Western Scythians.

The Eastern Scythians, as belonging to the division of ASIA, will form no part of the following discussion, which is confined entirely to those of the Euxine †.

† Both Arrian and Curtius speak of *European* and *Asiatic* Scythians, as a term of distinction. This seems much the same idea, as our *Eastern* and *Western* Scythians; only it will be shewn in the sequel, that they, like Herodotus, extended Europe very far to the east; and seemingly to the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, and the river Jaxartes; by the error of supposing a much less extent of space than the truth, between the *Tanais* and *Jaxartes*.

## SECTION IV.

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OF THE WESTERN, OR EUXINE SCYTHIA ; WHICH IS  
THE PROPER SCYTHIA OF HERODOTUS, BUT  
THE SARMATIA OF LATER AUTHORS.

*Position and Face of Western Scythia—mistaken Ideas of Herodotus, respecting its Form and Extent—Cause of his Errors, and their Effects on the general Geography.—True Form and Extent of Scythia, considered generally ; and afterwards proved by Deductions from our Author's Facts and Observations—Rivers of Scythia, with some of their principal Adjuncts—vast Inland Navigations—Subdivision of Scythia—Difficulties concerning some of the River Boundaries—Idea that the Borysthenes formerly ran into the Palus Mæotis ; and that the Krimea was an Island—Royal Scythians—reported Origin of the Scythian Nation—The Targitaus of Herodotus, appears to be the Turk of the Orientals—Cimmerians dispossessed by the Scythians—Cimmerian Antiquities—The Euxine Scythians, and those at the Jaxartes, from the same Stock—Customs common to both—Euxine Scythia suited to Pastoral Life—The Scythians favoured by Herodotus, in point of Character—his general Accuracy and Candour.*

THE SCYTHIA of Herodotus answers generally to the *Ukraine*, the country of the *Nogaian Tartars*, the *Don Cossacks*, &c. ; its first river on the *west*, being the Danube, and its last on the *east*, the Tanaïs, or Don ; Melpomene, 48, *et seq.*<sup>1</sup> It wears,

<sup>1</sup> The reader is requested to consult the Map of Scythia, No. III. opposite. In this, Scythia is drawn according to its just

for the most part, the same face now, as in the time of our Author; (who by his own account had visited the Black sea, and we may suppose, of course, the *Greek* settlements in Scythia also:) that is, it is composed of vast naked plains, and in a great part occupied by *Nomades*, or wandering tribes. No country whatsoever, was better watered: it having no less than eight large rivers, which were navigable to the sea; and amongst these, the Danube, Tanais, and Borysthenes; *Μελπομ.* 47. The pastures watered by some of these rivers were highly celebrated by our Author; and gave occasion to the application of the name of GRASS STEPPE to the tract itself, in contradistinction to the comparative barrenness of the others<sup>2</sup>.

proportions, but the matter is arranged according to the ideas of Herodotus. His ideas of its *form* and *extent* will be found in No. I.

<sup>2</sup> Baron Tott's description of that part of the site of ancient Scythia, which he traversed between the *Dneister* and *Krimca*, presents a lively picture of the face of the country. We shall collect the scattered notices that occur in different parts of his narrative; Part II. on the Turks and Tartars.

After crossing the *Dneister* (the *Tyres* of Herodotus) in the line between *Jassi* and *Otchakow*, he says:

"The plains which we crossed (those of *Yedassan*) were so level and open, that the horizon appeared only a hundred paces from us, on every side. No rising ground, not even the smallest shrub to make a variety in this picture; and we perceived nothing during the whole journey, but a few *Nogais* on horseback, whose heads were discovered by the piercing eyes of my Tartars, whilst the convexity of the earth still hid the remainder of their bodies. Each of these *Nogais* was riding alone on horseback.—I was curious to know, what could be the object of these men,



Although the area and extent of Scythia were greatly underrated by Herodotus, yet, by a misconception of the relative positions of the coasts of the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, he has overrated the extent of the *coast* of Scythia bordering on those seas.

and was informed that these people, (thought to be Nomades, because they live in a sort of tents,) were settled in tribes, in *vallies* of 50 or 60 feet deep, which intersect the plain from north to south, and are more than 30 leagues in length, by  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a league, (say 600 to 700 paces,) in breadth, the middle of which are occupied by *muddy rivulets*, which terminate towards the south in *small lakes* that communicate with the Black sea. The tents of the Nogais are on the banks of these rivulets, as well as the hovels which shelter their numerous flocks during winter. In spring, these are driven to the plains, and abandoned till winter, when they are brought back again to shelter. This was the employment of the Nogais we had met with."

He afterwards says, that the extent of plain between the vallies is 10 to 12 leagues; perhaps 30 or more miles. These vallies must be regarded as the *ancient beds* of rivers; of which more in the sequel. He passed two of them between Bender and Otchakow; and on the way to the second, he says, "we saw the sun appear on the horizon of these plains, as mariners do on the ocean."

In his way from Otchakow to the Krimea, he makes much the same kind of remark: "the noise of the waves (for he went near the sea coast) afforded a more interesting object than the naked plains."

This may suffice for the face of the country: and we have also the testimony of M. Pallas, respecting the flatness and very low level of the country, between the Borysthenes and the Mæotis, in the *Tableau de Physique et Topographique de la Tauride*.

It may be remarked, that Herodotus does not speak of any Nomadic tribes of Scythians on the west of the Borysthenes, where they are now found.

For, by the context it appears, that he supposed the coasts of the Euxine and Mæotis to form a right angle at their point of junction, at the Peninsula of Taurica (Krimæa); presenting *two* sides which respectively faced the SE and SW; or perhaps more strictly the ESE and SSW. Such was the idea of its *position*: and of its *form* and *extent*, that it was a *square* of 4,000 stadia, each way. This is collected from the following notices:

“Scythia (says Herodotus,) appears to be of a *quadrangular* form, having *two* of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two, towards the land, are perfectly equal. Ascending from the sea, inland, as far as the country of the *Melanchlæni*, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days. According to my computation, a day’s journey is equal to 200 stadia: thus the extent of Scythia, along its sides, is 4,000 stadia; and through the midst of it, inland, is 4,000 more;” Melpom. 101<sup>3</sup>.

Its position in respect of the heavens, is collected from the following circumstances: that Darius Hystaspes, in his memorable invasion of Scythia, “advanced *eastward* towards the *Tanais*,” after passing the *Danube*; Melpom. 122. Again, in chapter 100, the sea (that is, the Mæotis) is described to wash the country of the Scythians, *above Tauris* “on the *east*,” and again, in ch. 18 and 20, the *Androphagi*

<sup>3</sup> It may be conceived, that when our Author reckons by journies, of a specific length, he means to express the *road* distance: so that a proper allowance is to be made for inflections, in order to reduce it to *direct* distance. We have adopted this idea in the construction of the Map, No. I.

and *Melanchlæni*, two nations who bordered on Scythia, *inland*, are said to lie to the *north*; and the Peninsula of *Taurica* to the *south*.

But, it will be found, that our Author erred very much in his idea of the *form* of Scythia; for the truth is, that the coasts of the Euxine and Mæotis do not conjointly present any such form, as he supposes; but, on the contrary, the maritime part of Scythia extends generally in an ENE direction, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Tanais; forming, not *two* sides of a square, but in effect, *one* side only, of a parallelogram of much greater dimensions: although that side be very crooked and indented<sup>4</sup>. The length of Scythia along the coast, may be about 430 geographic miles, or 5,140 stadia of those of 718 to a degree, whilst he regarded the whole length as equal to 4,000 stadia; say 330 G. miles. And, as Scythia extended very far beyond the mouths of the above rivers, to the east and west, its length is even much more than double the extent he supposed; as will appear in the sequel. It is true that Herodotus had in idea, a stade of a somewhat shorter standard than 718 to a degree, but the difference is too inconsiderable to merit attention in this place<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The form and position of the *Krimea*, terminating in a *point* to the *SW*, was probably the cause of the error of making *two* sides out of *one*.

<sup>5</sup> It has been remarked in page 27, that the stade of our Author is of 732 to a degree, on a mean of all the examples collected from his work: that the 2,000 between the Danube and Borysthenes are of 727; whilst those in Greece are much shorter.

Some of the causes that led to the above errors of Herodotus, are the following :

1. He supposed that the greatest length of the Euxine, 11,100 stadia, (which, however, was 3,000 too much,) lay in the line of direction between the Bosphorus and the river Phasis ;

2. That the Isthmus of Natolia was little more than half of its actual breadth ;

3. That the mouth of the Danube was situated opposite to Sinope ;

4. That the Palus Mæotis was nearly as large as the Euxine ; consequently, in order to get room for it, he must have extended it a vast way to the *north* and *east*, beyond the truth <sup>6</sup> :

And lastly, that it lay as much N and S, as E and W : and that the Tanais entered it with a *southerly* instead of a *westerly* course <sup>7</sup>. He calls the *Mæotis* the MOTHER of the EUXINE ; Melp. 86 <sup>8</sup>.

It is certain, however, that he says, Melp. 17, that “ the port of the *Borysthenitæ*, (where, as we learn

<sup>6</sup> It appears in Clio, 104, that Herodotus supposed the distance between the Mæotis (understood to mean, at the mouth of the Tanais) and the river Phasis, to be thirty journies of quick travelling. It may be about twenty.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo thought the same : and both he and Ptolemy that the Mæotis extended N and S.

<sup>8</sup> The ideas of Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5, on this subject, are worthy of attention, as well from the matter of them, as that they serve to explain the ideas of Herodotus, in this place.

There is little doubt but that our Author, as well as Polybius, knew that the Palus Mæotis received more water than it evaporated, and which it gave to the Euxine ; the Euxine to the Mediterranean.

in 78, stood a Grecian city of *Milesians*<sup>9</sup>;) is unquestionably the centre of *all* the *maritime* parts of Scythia." This seems to do away his former assertion concerning the two sides of 4,000 stadia each, washed by the sea; since this port is said by him to be no more than 2,000 stadia from the Danube; that is, ten days' journey of 200 each; Melpom. 101. Here it seems to be the sense of the Author, that by the maritime parts of Scythia, those alone were meant, which bordered on the *Euxine*; which certainly contradicts his former statement. Possibly he might mean, what was true in effect, that the port in question was situated nearly in the centre of the *south side* of Scythia, taken at large.

Be it as it will, the form of Western Scythia, will be found to be nearly a *parallelogram*, whose greatest length, extending along the Danube, Euxine, Mæotis, and Tanais, is at least 9,000 stadia; and its depth inland, about 4,000, as Herodotus himself allows.

One general effect of the error of our Author in thus shortening, by about one half, the length of Scythia, would necessarily be, to cause all the positions that were adjusted by him, on the *east* of the Tanais, and Mæotis, to recede *westward*, more than they ought, in respect of the sea of Colchis, and the Caspian. To this erroneous calculation amongst other causes, we must therefore attribute the mistake of placing the Issedones (or Yugures,) so far to the

<sup>9</sup> There were *Milesian* colonies also, at the mouth of the *Danube*, (called *Istrians*;) and at the entrance of the *Euxine*.

west, as to bring them opposite to, or in the same meridian with, the Massagetæ, on the river Jaxartes.

We shall now proceed to the *detail* of the *data*, on which the extent and arrangement of the Scythian provinces rest.

Herodotus enumerates eight rivers of (Western) Scythia, of which the Danube is the most western, and the Tanais the most eastern.

The Danube was, excepting the Nile, the largest stream known to Herodotus<sup>1</sup>, being formed of a great number of others; and he conceived that it underwent no variation in bulk, in summer or in winter<sup>2</sup>; Melp. 48, 50.

Next to this was the *Tyres*, or *Tyras*, which rising in the north, from an immense *marsh*, divided *Scythia* from *Neuris*. The *Tyritæ*, or *Tyrigetæ*, Greek colonists, were seated near the lower parts of it; Melp. 51.

The third river was the *Hypanis*<sup>3</sup>, springing from an immense lake in Scythia; 52. In the district of the *Alazones*, the streams of the Tyres and Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but soon separate again to a considerable distance; (*ibid.*)

As the Hypanis is the third in order, of those rivers, and placed next to the Borysthenes, both here,

<sup>1</sup> He had never heard of the *Ganges*, or other great rivers of India, and China, the Indus excepted.

<sup>2</sup> The description of the Danube and its alluvions, in Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5, is worth attention.

<sup>3</sup> There were other rivers of the name of *Hypanis*. The river of *Kuban* bore that name, which is scarcely altered in its present *sound*.

and in Melp. 17, (where it is said to lie to the *west* of the *Borysthenes*; and to form a junction with it near the sea,) it can answer to no other river than the Bog; as the Tyres, which immediately preceded it, can be no other than the Dneister <sup>4</sup>. The circumstance of the near approach of the two, shews how well our Author was informed: for those rivers do really approach very near to each other at Braclaw and Mohilow, in the early part of their courses; and afterwards diverge very considerably, in their way to the Euxine.

The fourth river, and the largest next the Danube, is the *Borysthenes*; Melp. 53. Herodotus was of opinion that this river “was more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, the Egyptian Nile excepted. It contained great abundance of the more delicate kinds of fish, and afforded the most agreeable and excellent pastures. Its course may be traced as far as the country of *Gerrhus* <sup>5</sup>, through a voyage of forty days, and flows from the north <sup>6</sup>: but its sources, like those of the Nile, are unknown to *me*, as I believe they are to every other Greek;” Melp. 53.

There is some reason to suspect, that our Author was not apprized of the famous cataracts of this river, which occur at about the height of 200 miles above

<sup>4</sup> The *Dneister* is also called *Turla*, in D'Anville: perhaps the same *root* with the Greek name *Tyres*, or *Tures*.

<sup>5</sup> Said in Melp. 71, to be the *remote* part of *Scythia*.

<sup>6</sup> Its general course, *throughout*, is nearly south: but its deviations from that line are very great, for it forms a prodigious bend to the east in the Ukraine.

its *embouchure*, and are said to be thirteen in number : for he seems to consider the navigation as being uninterrupted, during forty days upward from the sea.

The port of Cherson, (near the embouchure of this grand river,) rendered famous by the marine arsenals, and docks, established by the immortal Catharine of Russia, must be nearly in the same situation with the port of the *Borysthenitæ*, mentioned by Herodotus. These are also named *Olbiopolitæ*<sup>7</sup>. See Melpom. 17, 18, and 78.

The descriptions of the courses and confluences of the 5th, 6th, and 7th rivers, namely, the *Panticapes*, *Hypæcyris*, and *Gerrhus*, Melp. 54, 55, 56, cannot be reconciled to modern geography ; and, as far as we can understand, cannot have been of any great bulk. The *Gerrhus* is expressly said to be a *branch* of the Borysthenes, 56 ; and it is obvious, that, as the other two are described to be situated *between* the Borysthenes and the *Gerrhus*, they must either have been very unimportant in point of bulk, or branches of the Borysthenes, or the *Gerrhus*. As they are said to be “ *navigable to the sea*,” and “ amongst the most celebrated of the Scythian rivers,” Melpom. 47, it is the most probable that they were branches of the *greater* river Borysthenes, which, like many others, discharged itself by several mouths. Some little light will be thrown on these particulars, when we speak of the subdivision of Scythia.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny says that the *Hypanis* joins the *Borysthenes* at *Olbia* ; lib. iv. c. 12.



The 8th river is the *Tanais*; in modern European geography, the Don; and cannot be misunderstood<sup>s</sup>. “Rising (says our Author) from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mæotis; and is increased by the waters of another river, called the *Hirgis*,” Melpom. 58. It may however admit of doubt, whether the lower part of the river *Donetz*, which joins the Don, may not have been confounded by the early geographers with the Don itself; since this latter takes so remarkable a turn to the east: and as the former is a very large stream, and also occurs in a position, where the Don itself, considering its general course, would be looked for, by those who came from the west.

The Tanais does indeed spring from a lake, but it appears to be a very small one; and is not even marked in the Russian maps. Le Brun, who visited it, says, “the small lake *Ivan* is not far distant from the village of *Ivanosra*. The river *Don*, or *Tanais*, has its source in this lake, and from thence flows in a long canal, the water whereof is exceedingly clear.”—He afterwards says, that it is more properly a *pool* than a *lake*; Vol. i. ch. 12.

Le Brun also says, that an inland navigation from the Mæotis and Euxine, to the Baltic sea, by the medium of the rivers *Don*, *Wolga*, *Twersa*, &c.

<sup>s</sup> The modern name *Don*, seems to be a corruption of *Tana*, the proper name of the river, as well as of a city, which stood on, or near, the site of *Azoph*; and not far from its *embouchure* in the Palus Mæotis. *Tana* is obviously the same name with *Tanais*.

was not only projected, but begun, by the Czar PETER the GREAT, in 1702; and which, had it been finished, would also have joined the Euxine to the Caspian; since the Caspian and Baltic are known to be so completely united, that boats proceed uninterruptedly from Petersburg to Astrakan; said to be a voyage of nearly 2,300 British miles.

The Don and Wolga were to have been joined by means of a canal *through* the lake *Ivan*; the waters of which were made to flow into the little river *Sohata*, which flows into the *Upa*; this latter into the *Okka*; and the *Okka* into the *Wolga*. So that the waters of the lake *Ivan*, ran two different ways; and in this state of progress, it appears, Le Brun saw the work in 1702: but it does not seem ever to have been completed.

The inland navigations of RUSSIA, as well as of CHINA, are on a scale that is commensurate to the extent of those vast empires. Not that they are so much the effect of *political* geography, which has subjected to one dominion, the courses of so many large and nearly contiguous streams, and thereby removed the obstacles which commonly arise, from the contending interests of adjoining states; great as these advantages are; as of the *physical* geography, which has thrown the fewest obstacles possible in the way. But it may well be, that the absence of such obstacles, may have gone towards forming the present system of political geography.

To return to the geography.—The eight streams above mentioned are declaredly exclusive of the *branches* of the Danube and Tanais: for Herodo-

tus enumerates several of the former, which have their sources in the western quarter of Scythia; as well as of the latter amongst the Thyssagetæ, on the north-east. These notices afford so much assistance towards fixing the western limits of Scythia, and of the position of the Thyssagetæ on the east, that it will be proper to examine them in detail.

“ The *Porata*, (so called by the Scythians, by the Greeks *Pyreton*) the *Tiarantus*, *Ararus*, *Naparis*, and the *Ordessus*, are five streams which particularly contribute to increase the size of the *Danube*; and all have their rise in *Scythia* ;” Melp. 48. M. D’Anville recognizes the *Porata* in the *Pruth*; the *Ararus* in the *Siret*: the *Naparis* in the *Proava* <sup>9</sup>, and the *Ordessus* in the *Argis*: but the *Tiarantus* he has not made out <sup>1</sup>. However, as our Author says, Melpom. 48, that it has an *inclination* to the *west*, and is smaller than the *Porata*; as also that the three others take their courses *between* these two, it appears that the *Olt* or *Alut* should be meant for the *Tiarantus*. The *Olt*, however, has its source in *Transylvania*, which the context evidently allots to the *Agathyrsi*; but it is certain, notwithstanding, that its source is on the *borders* of *Scythia*: and, as it is probable that our Author had not a critical knowledge of the geography, the ex-

<sup>9</sup> Called also *Jalomnitza*.

<sup>1</sup> It cannot be meant for the *Tibiscus*, or *Teisse*, for in the succeeding chapter (49,) it is enumerated amongst other adjuncts of the *Danube*, under the name of *Tibisis*, although by mistake it is made to descend from Mount *Hemus*, instead of the *Bastarnian Alps*, in the opposite quarter.

pression ought not to be taken too literally, when he says that ALL these rivers have their rise IN Scythia.

From hence then may be collected, that Scythia extended *westward* to the upper part of the course of the river *Argis*, in *Walakia*; and also along the course of the Danube upwards, to the *great bend* near *Dristra* (*Durosterus*); for the commencement of its oblique course, by which it enters Scythia, (according to our Author, Melp. 49,) is about that place; and the *embouchure* of the *Ordessus* but a little higher up. Consequently, Scythia must have included the eastern part of the province of *Walakia*: and as it extended 20 journies (of 200 stadia each) inland, the entire province of *Moldavia* also, to the sources of the *Porata* or *Pruth*.

The *Tyres*, which, from more than one circumstance, has been proved to answer to the *Dneister*, is said to have divided *Scythia* from *Neuris*, Melp. 51. And it will be found that, allowing to Scythia a breadth of 20 journies, or 4,000 stadia (according to the text) inland from the coast of the Euxine, this particular respecting the *Tyres* agrees very well: and hence the *Neuri*, who are also said, Melp. 17, to dwell near the *Hypanis* (*Bog*), must have possessed that part of *Poland* heretofore called the *Palatinate* of *Russia*; and part of that of *Lusuc*; now composing the eastern part of *GALLICIA*. Of this, more in the sequel, when we speak of the nations or tribes that are situated along the *borders* of *Scythia*.

By this arrangement it will appear also, that *Podolia*, or the principal part of it, must also have constituted a part of Scythia.

Proceeding farther to the east, it will be found, that the distance of twenty of the like journies, inland from the Euxine, at the part near the mouth of the Borysthenes, will extend the limits of Scythia upwards, beyond the *forks* of that river. By the *forks* are meant the places of confluence of the *eastern* and *western* branches, the *Dnesna* and *Prypetsy*, (and more particularly the latter) with the northern, or *proper Borysthenes*; which collective waters form the main trunk of that magnificent stream, which divided Scythia in the midst. For the above distance of twenty journies, or 4,000 stadia, is given, in Melp. 101, between the sea and the borders of the Melanchlæni, a tribe which adjoined on the *north*, to those Royal Scythians, who touched on Taurica, the Mæotis, and Tanais; Melp. 20, and 57. Consequently, Scythia may be supposed to have extended northward to the river *Dnesna* and its eastern branch, the *Sem*, on the *east* of the Borysthenes; and to *Polish Russia*, on the *west* of that river: wherefore WOLYNIA; the proper UKRAYNE; the country of BIELGOROD, &c. must have formed the northern frontier of Scythia; on which side it was bounded by the tribe of ANDROPHAGI, on the side of Poland, and by the MELANCHLÆNI on that of Russia: as on the NW by the NEURI, and on the west by the AGATHYRSI.

On the north-east, the Tanais separated the Scy-

thians from the BUDINI, and GELONI. The SAURMATEÆ, or SARMATIANS, lay to the east; but whether they occupied both banks of the Tanais, above the conflux of the Donetz, or whether the Scythians possessed that peninsula formed by the Don and Donetz, is a matter of doubt, and must be left for the reader to determine for himself. We, however, regard the former as the most probable.

Thus the Scythia of Herodotus appears to have extended in length from Hungary, Transylvania, and Walakia, on the WEST, to the river Don on the EAST; a space of full 750 G. miles, or more than 860 B. miles: but if the Donetz is to be taken for the eastern boundary, then 612 G. miles, or 710 B. miles only. Its breadth is taken on the statement of Herodotus, at 4,000 stadia, equal to 300 or 330 G. miles, which extends it, as we have seen, to the heads of the rivers Pruth and Dneister, to the forks of the Borysthenes, and the course of the Dnesna, at large. But the length allowed to Scythia by him, is little more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the space between the *mouths* of the *Danube* and *Tanais*, alone; beyond which Scythia extended very far, because those rivers formed its boundaries, and their courses were very oblique. And, on the whole, he appears to have allowed to Scythia considerably less than half the true quantity of the area, taking his own statement of the boundaries. For the 750 G. miles produce about 9,000 stadia of our mean scale; whilst our Author allowed the length and breadth of Scythia to be 4,000 stadia only; and as we have already admitted the breadth to be as he describes, the form and dimensions of

that country will be a parallelogram of 9,000 stadia by 4,000, instead of a square of 4,000<sup>2</sup>.

### *Subdivision of Scythia.*

It is by no means an easy task to place the different tribes of Scythians, described by our Author :

<sup>2</sup> Baron Tott allows the following extent to the tract, which he names *LITTLE TARTARY* ; and which may be regarded as the ancient *MARITIME SCYTHIA* \*.

It includes the Peninsula of the *Krimea*, the *Kuban*, a part of *Circassia*, and all that territory which *separates* the *Russian empire* from the Black Sea. (This was written previous to the cession of the *Krimea*, &c. to Russia.) This zone, extending from *Moldavia* to the neighbourhood of *Taganrok*, is 30 or 40 leagues broad, by 200 in length, or about 530 G. miles. It contains from E to W, the *Yetitche-Koule*, the *Jamboylouk*, the *Yedessan*, and *Bessarabia*. The latter province, called also *Boudziak*, or *Boudjack*, is inhabited by Tartars settled in villages, as well as those in the *Peninsula* ; but the inhabitants of the three other provinces have only tents made of felt, which they remove at pleasure. He afterwards excepts those *Nogais*, who are settled in the long vallies of the *Yedessan*, between the *Dneister* and *Borysthenes*, before-mentioned, in page 67.

Mr. Tooke (*Russia*, Vol. ii. p. 71,) allots to the *Nogayan* Tartars, the tract between the *Danube* on the west, and the lower part of the *Wolga* on the east ; and bordering southward on the *Euxine*, *Mæotis*, *Mount Caucasus*, and the *Caspian*. This, of course, allows them a much wider range than the limits assigned them by the Baron, who perhaps took only a partial view of the subject.

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\* It may be proper to mention, that as all the references made to Baron Tott's book, are contained in his second Part, on the subject of the Turks and Tartars, it will be unnecessary to refer to it in the sequel.

but we shall endeavour to place the principal ones. It may be proper, first of all, to observe, that the *Tauri*, who inhabited the *Cimmerian Chersonesus*, or Krimea, one of the most prominent features of the geography of this tract, were not reckoned to belong to Scythia. See Melpom. 102.

I. HYLÆA was the name of the Peninsula adjacent to *Taurica*, on the NW; formed by the lower part of the Borysthenes, the Euxine, the gulf of Carcinitis, and the river Hypacyris, which flowed into it. It is now named *Jamboylouk*.

This tract, unlike the rest of *maritime* Scythia, had trees in it; Melpom. 19. This circumstance is not only confirmed by Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, who calls it a *woody* country, but by the testimony of Baron Tott in modern times, which is very satisfactory.

The Baron, having crossed the mouth of the Borysthenes, from *Otchakow* to the point of *Kilburn*, traversed the great plain of *Jamboylouk* (inhabited also by the *Nogais*,) to *Orkapi* or *Perekop*, the fortress which shuts up the Isthmus of the Krimea; which plain is precisely the HYLÆA of Herodotus; and is nearly 100 English miles long, in this direction. The Baron thus describes it:

“The road which we took brought us near the Black Sea; and in following the beach from time to time, the very noise of the waves afforded us a more interesting object than we could find in the *naked plains* over which we had been passing. Those we still had to pass, were likewise entirely bare, *although I have been assured that they were formerly covered with forests,*” &c.



The province of *Hylæa* was also remarkable for its containing a flat tract of a very singular form, which projected into the sea, called the *Course of Achilles*; and moreover, for being the scene of the story of Hercules and the monster Queen of Scythia, when he had driven away the oxen of Geryon. The river Panticapes passed *through* Hylæa, in its way to the Borysthenes; and the Hypacyris bounded both this territory, and the just-mentioned tract, called the Course of Achilles. This is the substance of our Author's descriptions, in Melpom. chapters 8, 9, 10, 18, 19, 54, and 56. And hence the Hypacyris appears clearly to be the river Kalauzczac, which passes by the modern town of Kammemoimost, which is, perhaps, nearly in the position of *Carcinus*. We shall find the same river recognized by Pliny and Ptolemy, in the sequel.

The geography of this whole tract is very strongly marked, as will appear by a reference to the Map No. III. and more particularly to Dezauche's Map of the Krimea. In this, the Course of Achilles is also recognized, in two long and exceeding narrow slips of land, named *Tentra*, which extend in opposite directions into the sea, forming together the shape of a sword, or scymetar, agreeing to the description of Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, who says that the *Dromos Achilleos* was a peninsula extending into the sea, in the form of a *sword*, and was 80 MP. in length. It is 62 G. miles, equal to 77 MP. on the map. Ptolemy describes it much the same, *Europæ*, Tab. VIII.

Strabo is very pointed and particular in his de-

scription of it, pages 307, 308. He reckons it 1,000 stadia in length, which is much too long: but he seems very exact in representing it to be only two stadia in breadth, at the widest part; and to extend from east to west. How this remarkable tract came to be named from Achilles, is not told<sup>3</sup>.

Baron Tott passed near, if not *through*, a part of it, in his way from Otchakow to Perekop, at the time when he describes the naked plains, little elevated above the margin of the sea. By appearances, it has been in part formed of alluvions of the Borysthenes and its branches; of which the Hypacyris, which bounded it on the east, was probably one.

II. The Scythian HUSBANDMEN, OR PLOUGHING Scythians; (called also *Borysthenitæ*, and *Olbiopolitæ*;) were situated adjacent to the Borysthenes; Melpom. 18, 53, 54. They extended from eleven to twelve journeys up the river, from Hylæa; particularly on the east side: and to the distance of three journies eastward from the river; where they were bounded by the Panticapes. This last river, however, cannot be recognized in modern geography, since no river is known to pass through the site of Hylæa, in its way to the Borysthenes, as described in Melpom. 54. We have already hazarded a con-

<sup>3</sup> From these descriptions one may collect, that they had seen a delineation of the ground: and indeed many ancient notices plainly shew that the ancients were in the habit of making maps and plans; although these have not, like their books, generally reached us; which may be owing in part, to there having been fewer copies made, and that they were, perhaps, more subject to accident, than books.

jecture, that this, as well as the other rivers of this quarter, were branches of the Borysthenes : some of which, probably, have been since filled up by the depositions of its waters.

It would appear from Melpom. 53, that the Borysthenitæ dwelt also on the *west* side of the Borysthenes, near its mouth, as far as the influx of the Hypanis (Bog).

III. THE SCYTHIAN NOMADES ; Melp. 19, 55, 56. These lived to the eastward of the Husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, said above to pass at the distance of three journies to the eastward of the Borysthenes <sup>4</sup>. These Nomades *are said* to inhabit a district of 14 journies towards the east, and as far as the river *Gerrhus* ; but the number 14 is an error, at all events : first, because the Royal Scythians, who are divided from the former by the river *Gerrhus*, join southward to the district of Taurica (Krimæa) ; Melpom. 20 ; which begins at the Gulf of Carcinitis, Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12 ; and therefore cannot be *many* journies removed from the Borysthenes. Secondly, because the Hypacyris, which bounds Hylæa on the east, passed through the midst of the Nomades, in its way to Carcinitis ; Melpom. 55. Neither of these circumstances could have taken

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, agrees with Herodotus, that the *Panticapes* divides the Nomades, from the Husbandmen, Scythians. Ptolemy's *Hypanis*, Europæ, viii. on the *east* of the Borysthenes, appears to occupy the place of this *Panticapes*.

It is difficult to judge what the course of the *Panticapes* was, and where it joined the Borysthenes, but there can be little doubt, as has been said, that it was one of its branches.

place, had the Nomades extended 14 journies to the eastward of the Husbandmen; that is, 17 to the east of the Borysthenes. Moreover, it would not have left room for the Royal *Scythians*, who are said to be the *most numerous* tribe of Scythians; Melp. 20<sup>5</sup>.

Whether it be that Herodotus was not correctly informed, or that the rivers have undergone a change in their courses, during the long interval of near 23 centuries, it is certain that the modern geography of the country, set forth by its present possessors, the Russians, does not present any such series of rivers as the Panticapes, the Hypacyris, and the Gerrhus, in the *like positions*, and under the *like circumstances*. But it is very true, that the maps which enter most into the detail of this country, represent the tract in which we should look for

<sup>5</sup> Pliny has a river *Pacyris*, which must be taken for the *Hypacyris*, as he conducts it into the Gulf of *Carcinitis*; lib. iv. c. 12. Ptolemy, Europ. viii. names the river, as well as the gulf which receives it, *Carcinitis*: but places the town *Pasiris* on its banks.

Pliny, moreover, speaks in the same place of a river *Hypanis*, which passes between *Hylæa* and the Nomadic Scythians, and afterwards discharges itself into *Coretus*, a gulf of the Palus Mæotis: probably intended for the NW bay of it, as the lake of *Buges* is said to join it: for this lake appears in Ptolemy to answer to the Muddy Lake, or Siwasch, which shuts up the Krimea towards the north. We conceive there is an error in Pliny respecting *this Hypanis*, and its connection with the *Coretus*: and that, as it passes between the Hylæans and Nomades, that the *Hypacyris* is really intended. So that he had probably confounded *Hypanis*, *Hypacyris*, and *Pacyris* together, as well as *Carcinitis* and *Coretus*.

these rivers to be full of stagnant lakes and pools, in which the courses of creeks terminate from the north; so that it may be suspected that the Borysthenes, and its branches, have *wandered* through this space in different ages of the world; and, in consequence, may have at times gained the sea by different mouths, and occasionally by more than one at the same period of time. There is a very strong circumstance mentioned by Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, where, after saying that the *Taurican Chersonesus* begins at *Carcinus*, he proceeds to say, that "it was anciently *environed by the sea*, in the part where the ground is flat," which flat country seems evidently to be the tract above mentioned, on the north of, and adjacent to, the Krimea. And indeed, reasoning from analogy, nothing is more likely than that a great change should have taken place in the course of so vast and so rapid a river as the Borysthenes, and which also flows through a deep alluvial country. It may be observed on the Map, what a vast *elbow* it makes to the east, in the lower part of its course. Hence, considering other circumstances, it is probable that at some former period it ran *straight* from the Cataracts into the western part of the Mæotis; and that, having in a course of ages raised the ground too high to make its way through, it sought a lower bed in the west, but left a *branch* in the former one (which it might do, although its bed would not contain the whole river); and *this* branch may have been the *Gerrhus*, which, Herodotus says, was really an emanation of the Borysthenes. Melpom. 56. Instances of such changes

are by no means unfrequent in other places ; and it is pretty certain that the *Deltas* of all rivers are formed in this way <sup>6</sup>.

It may be added, that the reports of those who have visited that country in latter times, confirm in the strongest manner, the idea, not only of a change of course of the Borysthenes and Dneister, but of a still greater change in the face of the country between the Borysthenes and the sea ; in effect, giving strength to an opinion that the Peninsula of the Krimea from the original state of an island, has been joined to the main land, either by a general subsidence of the level of the Euxine, or by the depositions of the Borysthenes ; or possibly, by both these causes combined <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Much light is thrown on these subjects in a series of Maps of the Rhine, by M. Wiebeking of Darmstadt ; a part of which were published in 1796, and seem to be the most useful of the kind that have appeared. In these, the changes in the course of the river are traced with precision, and the dates marked : and the works erected in certain parts, to prevent the destructive effects of the stream, are described. They cannot but be highly useful to those whose business requires that they should be well versed in the nature of river currents and alluvions.

In the Appendix to the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, 1793, there will also be found, under article Ganges, many remarks of the above kind, all tending to prove the vast and rapid changes that take place in the beds of rivers, as well as the rapid increase of *alluvions*.

<sup>7</sup> It has so often happened that islands have been joined to the sea by alluvions, as well of the *sea*, as of *rivers*, that the former cause alone is sufficient to produce the effect. Herodotus himself gives one instance in the junction of one half of the *Echi-*

The reports alluded to, are particularly those of M. Pallas and of the Baron Tott. The former says, in the work above quoted, page 1, " That the Peninsula of *Taurica*, which rises with an abrupt ascent to the height of 1,200 feet, on the south side towards the Euxine, sinks by degrees towards the continent, and at last with so easy a slope, as to lose itself insensibly in the great plain, of which the adjacent country on the north is chiefly formed ; and which plain is but little elevated above the level of the sea." In page 19, he says, that the same plain seems as if it had once been covered by the sea ; as well as the desert between the Borysthenes and the *Berda*, which last is a river that flows into the Mæotis about midway between the Krimea and Azoph. He also supposes that the salt lakes, with which the plain is strewed, were once bays of the sea, whose mouths being first shut up by bars of sand, thrown across them by the surge of the sea, were finally separated by the subsidence of its level, when, by the rupture of the ground at the Bosphorus and Hellespont, the Euxine discharged its upper level of water into the Ægean sea.

He accounts (p. 20) for the formation of the lake of *Siwasch* (or the *muddy* lake,) much in the same manner, by the matter thrown up by the waves of

*nades* with the continent, by the alluvions formed by the river *Achelous* in *Acarmania*. Euterpe, 10. Others, near Ephesus, have been joined by the *Cayster* ; the island of *Pharos* also with the main land of Egypt ; so that the *modern* Alexandria stands on the alluvion itself. The instances are very numerous.

the Mæotis, occasioned by the prevalent strong winds at east and north-east<sup>8</sup>.

Thus the opinion of M. Pallas is, at least, in favour of a *great change* having taken place in the tract between the Borysthenes and Krimea: which opinion, as we have seen, agrees exactly with the report of Pliny, more than seventeen centuries ago. But we are of opinion, that more appearances are yet to be accounted for; and that the courses of the creeks from N to S, across the same plain, and which terminate in lakes; together with the vast surface of mud, and muddy lakes, spread over the eastern part of the Isthmus, can only be accounted for by the presence of a large fresh-water river: and that river can hardly be supposed to be any other than the Borysthenes, which, in our idea, formerly gained the sea at the western part of the Mæotis; and having gradually raised the level too high for it to run on,

<sup>8</sup> Appearances seem to prove, that the limits of the Mæotis have been much circumscribed; and its bed, of course, in part filled up, by the depositions of the Tanais, Borysthenes, and other rivers. The large chart of that sea (drawn since 1773,) points out many banks and tongues of land, that have evidently been formed, as well from the currents generated in the sea, by the discharge of the Tanais, (and which run along the north coast, and thence to the S and SE to the Strait of *Jenicale*,) as by the river currents themselves. It was the idea of Polybius (lib. iv. c. 5.) that the filling up of the Mæotis was no very remote event, in his time. The operation, however, is so slow, that it may reasonably be deemed a very remote event, at present, although nearly 2,000 years have elapsed, since the date of his prediction. He had an idea that it was not much more than 15 to 20 feet deep, generally: but it is at present more than 30; and in the deepest parts 40 to 48.



retired westward in search of a lower level. This progress of things must of course have been posterior to the subsidence of the Euxine.

The notices furnished by Baron Tott are by no means unworthy of attention, although arising from a more confined view of things. He mentions the remarkable lowness and flatness of the ground, in front of the Isthmus of the Krimea, and indeed all the way from the Borysthenes; though without hinting any idea of any change having taken place. He says, that the Isthmus itself, across which the *lines* of Perekop are drawn, (and which extend about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a league,) is a plain; but overtops the plain *without*, by about 40 feet; however, that it joins with so gentle a slope, as if formed artificially. Hence the alluvion must be supposed to terminate with the lower plain.

It has been before remarked, that he describes the Plain of *Yedessan*, between the Dneister and Borysthenes, as a perfect level, save only the ravines or vallies which contain the muddy rivulets, terminating in lakes; and which may probably be the ancient channels of rivers; perhaps of the Dneister, or the Bog. And as he describes such a country likewise, between the Borysthenes and the Tanais, in which the detailed maps describe the same kind of creeks and lakes, it is very possible, not to say probable, that other rivers have wandered *there* also.

After this very long dissertation, we return again to the subject that gave rise to it, the course of the *Gerrhus*, and the other rivers of this part of Scythia.

It is proper to note a circumstance in which our

Author differs from all others ; and in which, the reason of the thing seems to shew that he was wrong. He says, Melpom. 56, that the *Gerrhus* finally *joins* with the *Hypacyris*. Now, this *latter* is allowed on all hands to pass through the country of the Nomades, and to discharge itself into the *Carcine* gulf, which washes the *west* side of Taurica ; whilst the *Gerrhus separates* the *Nomades* from the *Royal Scythians*, and is described by Pliny and Ptolemy<sup>9</sup> to enter the Palus Mæotis, which shuts up Taurica on the *east*. It is difficult to comprehend, how the *Gerrhus*, which forms the boundary between the Nomades and Royal Scythians, which Nomades also lay to the east of Hylæa and the Husbandmen, could fall into the gulf of Carcinitis, with the *Hypacyris* !

A river, or rather several beds of rivers, whose courses fall in nearly together, are found in the position, where the *Gerrhus* may be looked for, but they have, at present, no communication with the Borysthenes, and only one of their branches, with the Mæotis : for they terminate in a long and narrow lake, named *Molocznoe*, very near the western part of the Mæotis, and opposite to a wide gulf, which enters deeply into the land, and appears in ancient times to have joined to the lake ; when both together may have formed an *estuarium*, pointing to the north. Either of the above-mentioned branches may have been the *Gerrhus* : but the one that may, from its direction, be more particularly taken for it, is named *Tasczenac*.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. iv. c. 12 : and Europæ, Tab. viii.

The termination of these branches, at the Mæotis, is at 150 G. miles to the east of the mouth of the Borysthenes, though less than 80 from the nearest part of its course. Perhaps, then, *four* journies should be read, instead of *fourteen*, for the extent of the *Nomades*, eastward from the *Husbandmen* (see page 86); which will allow seven journies, at a medium, for the breadth of the tracts occupied by the two collectively <sup>1</sup>.

IV. The ROYAL SCYTHIANS; Nomades *also*, but of a higher order.

These, as we have seen, bordered on the Nomades, properly so called, westward; and on the Tauri southward: and they are said, Melp. 20, to have spread eastward as far as the Tanais, northward to the Melanchlæni, 20 days' journies, inland. These were the most numerous, as well as the most noble, of the Scythian nation; and they regarded all the rest of their countrymen as their slaves; Melp. 20. According to these notices, the Royal Scythians, who may be considered as the great body of *freemen* of the nation, occupied the tract generally, between

<sup>1</sup> The course of the Gerrhus appears clear enough in Pliny and Ptolemy. Pliny agrees with Herodotus, in making it the boundary between the Nomades and Royal Scythians; and with Ptolemy in conducting it finally into the Mæotis; the difference only is, that Pliny leads it into the lake *Buges*, which communicates with the gulf *Coretus* and the Mæotis; whilst Ptolemy leads it wide to the east of the lake *Buges*, or *Byces*. Both of them have also a river of *Buges*, but they differ in the place of its *embouchure*, exactly as they do concerning that of the *Gerrhus*.

They have also a third river, which is named *Acesinus* by Pliny, *Axiacus*, by Ptolemy; but which is not found in our Author.

the Mæotis on the south ; the Tanais on the east ; the river Gerrhus, and the Nomades, on the west ; and the river Desna, and its eastern branch, on the north. They had the Melanchlæni for their northern neighbours ; the Budini and Geloni on the NE ; and the Sauromatæ on the east. We shall now turn to the *west* of the Borysthenes.

V. The CALLIPIDÆ, Melp. 17, *Callipodes* of Solinus, appear to have occupied the lower course of the Hypanis, and are called *Greek Scythians*. Beyond these, between the Hypanis and Tyres, were,

VI. The HALIZONES<sup>2</sup>. Both of them were agricultural people. In Melp. 52, it is said that in the district of the *latter*, the courses of the Tyres and Hypanis incline towards each other, but soon separate again to a considerable distance. From this circumstance, the Halizones must be placed in part of Podolia and Braclaw. See above, page 79.

VII. Beyond the Halizones was another agricultural tribe, not named, Melp. 17 ; and who must have inhabited the frontier of Scythia, to the NW ; as the Neuri are said to lie next beyond them, towards the north.

VIII. The TYRITÆ (perhaps *Tyrigetæ*<sup>3</sup>) were reckoned a *Greek* colony, and inhabited the tract at the lower part of the river *Tyres* ; (*Dneiper.*) Melp. 51.

The inhabitants of the countries on the west of this river, although classed in a general way, as Scy-

<sup>2</sup> *Alazones*, in 52.

<sup>3</sup> See Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12.

thians, are not particularized by Herodotus<sup>4</sup>. Some authors reckon these to be *Getae*; but Herodotus appears to confine the *Getae* to the south of the Danube. However, as the term *Getae* may perhaps, with propriety, be applied to Scythians in general, there might be no great error in the application of it.

*On the reported Origin of the Scythian Nation.*

Thus, having enumerated the different tribes of Scythians, we shall next give a few particulars respecting these remarkable people from our Author, and others.

As to the fabulous accounts of the origin of the Scythians, they merit little attention as matters of history; but there are certain accordances, in respect of names, with the modern traditions amongst the inhabitants of Western Tartary, that appear remarkable.

The Scythians, according to Herodotus, Melp. 5, 6, 7, say that the first patriarch and king of their country was *Targitaus*, 1,000 years before the invasion of Darius Hystaspes; (or about 1,500 before

<sup>4</sup> Baron Tott, as we have shewn, found the country on the west of the Borysthenes possessed by a pastoral people; and it is highly probable, from the nature of the country, that the same habits prevailed there anciently. Nor is this any impeachment of our Author's accuracy; for the agricultural tribes above recorded, were situated very high up the country. The *Yedessan* tribe (of Tott) appear to occupy the place of the *Callipidæ* and *Tyritæ* of Herodotus.

Christ). That he had three sons, from whom the four tribes of *Anchatae*, *Catiæri*, *Traspies*, and *Paralatae* are descended. The *Paralatae* were the descendants of the *youngest* son<sup>5</sup>, who became king of Scythia; but these people were named more commonly *Scoloti*, from a *surname* of the king. The Greeks called them SCYTHIANS; Melp. 6.

Now, it is well known, that amongst the Orientals, TURK, the reputed son of JAPHET, is reckoned the patriarch of the tribes of Turkestan and Tartary; as also that his original settlement was in TURKES-TAN, that is, the country situated *along*, and *beyond*, the river Jaxartes.

The Targitaus of Herodotus has, in its root, some affinity to the name Turk; as that of the *Paralatae*, the tribe descended from the youngest son of Targitaus, has to Perlas or Berlas, which designed the tribe last in rank, of those descended from Turk. Targitaus was said to be the son of Jupiter; Turk of Japhet. See D'Herbelot, article *Turk*.

Herodotus gives two different accounts of the original settlement of the Scythians at the Euxine; and which, whether in their circumstances true or otherwise, serves to shew that the Greeks regarded them as new settlers in that tract.

The first story is, that “the *Scythian Nomades* of *Asia*, having been harassed by the *Massagetae* in war, passed the *Araxes*, and settled in *Cimmeria*;

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 3, calls the ancestor of the *Palians*, who seem to answer to the *Paralatae*, *Palus*; and reckons him the son of Jupiter. With Herodotus he is the grandson.

for it is to be observed, that the country now possessed by the Scythians, belonged formerly to the Cimmerians.—There are still to be found in Scythia, *walls*, &c. which are termed *Cimmerian*; the same name is also given to a whole district, as well as to a *narrow sea* <sup>6</sup>." Melpom. 11 and 12.

The second story is from Aristeas, the poet, a native of Proconnesus, who relates, that. " under the

<sup>6</sup> The district in question may be supposed to have been the *Chersonesus of Taurica (Krimca)*; and the narrow sea, the *Bosphorus of the Cimmerians*, which is mentioned by name, in Melpom. 100.

How much of Western Scythia the Cimmerians might have occupied, is unknown; but it may be inferred from a circumstance mentioned in Melpom. 11, that their possessions extended westward, at least to the river *Tyres* or *Dnieister*.

Respecting the *walls*, &c. still found in the time of Herodotus, under the name of *Cimmerian*, he does not say that they were in the *Peninsula*, but the context implies it: and it is not improbable that he had seen them. Baron Tott saw in the mountainous part of the *Krimea*, ancient castles, and other buildings, a part of which were *excavated* from the *live rock*; together with subterraneous passages from one to the other. These were, he says, always on mountains difficult of access. He refers them to the *Genoese*, with what justice we know not; it is possible *they* might have made use of them: but it is more than probable that these are the works alluded to by our author: for, it may be remarked, that works of this kind are commonly of very ancient date.

It appears that the nature of *part* of the remains, mentioned by Herodotus, cannot, from a corruption of the text, be understood. Some have supposed that *bridges* were intended; others, *gates*: may they have been the *subterraneous passages* above mentioned? or can it allude to a fortified line and bridge across the Isthmus, as the former of these existed in very early times?

influence of Apollo, he came to the Issedones ; that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi, a nation who have but one eye ; farther on, the Gryphins, the guardians of the gold ; and beyond these the Hyperboreans, who possess the whole country quite to the *sea* : and that all these nations, *except* the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of these hostilities, the Arimaspians were the first authors, for that they drove out the Issedones, the Issedones the Scythians : and the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land." Melp. 13.

Of these accounts, Herodotus says, that he is more inclined to believe the first, than the story of Hercules and the monster queen of Scythia, above alluded to ; and of the second, that "*it had obtained credit both with the Greeks and Barbarians.*" He then proceeds to give a short history of Aristæas, and his Arimaspians verses, in which it appears, he confessed that "he had not penetrated beyond the *Issedones* ; and that what he related of the countries more remote, he learnt of the Issedones themselves." Melp. 14, 16.

It may be observed, that the first account makes the Massagetæ to be the people who drove out the Scythian Nomades of Asia, to seek a new country in the *west* : by the other, the Arimaspians drove out the Issedones, who were situated next to them ; and who, in turn, impelled the Scythians westward to the Euxine, where they dispossessed the Cimmerians.



In either case, the question is, who were the Scythians thus dispossessed, and in what country was their original settlement ?

Whether the cause of migration might have been dread of conquest, want of room, or of pasturage, or any other matter, the events of more recent times may convince us, that such migrations have frequently happened : and we may quote, in particular, the famous migration of the *Kalmucs* in 1770, 1771, when they removed, (or rather took flight) from the west of the river *Wolga* to the *Balchatz* lake ; (called also *Palkati Nor* <sup>7</sup>, and lake of the *Kalmucs*,) a march of even greater length than from the *Jaxartes* to the *Mæotis* <sup>8</sup>.

But besides this instance of migration at large, there is every reasonable testimony of the migrations of the Turks and Tartars westward, in all ages ; so as even to change the population of the southern countries of Europe and Asia. Indeed, in the present instance, as well as in some few others, in recent times, the western countries appear to be too fully stocked, for the purposes of *Nomadic* life ; so that the tribes of this description begin to recoil *eastward* again.

To return to the Scythians of Herodotus.—It will appear, when the countries on the east of the *Mæotis* and *Tanais* are described, that he speaks of a nation of Scythians, who, according to the circumstances of the description, should have occupied the *Desht*

<sup>7</sup> *Nor* signifies lake or sea.

<sup>8</sup> The numbers were said to be 55,000 to 60,000 families ; perhaps 350,000 persons. (Mr. Tooke.)

*Kipzak*, at the head of the Caspian sea, together with a large proportion of the Steppe, now in the possession of the Kirgees tribes; and these he styles the SCYTHIANS who had SECEDED from the ROYAL SCYTHIANS, at the Mæotis; Melp. 22.

It is obvious, however, that if this statement was true, the country assigned by our Author to the Massagetæ, on the borders of the Jaxartes, (and Aral, taken by him and others for part of the Caspian,) would be confounded with the space assigned by him to the *seceding* Royal Scythians; and which error, from his incorrect ideas of relative position, he might not be able to detect. Either, then, he erred in extending the lands of these Royal Scythians too far to the east, or he has confounded them with the Massagetæ. And as he wrote from the information of others; and perhaps also, from very vague notices; it is not altogether improbable that the Royal Scythians might be a tribe of the same nation with the Massagetæ at the Jaxartes: in which case the story of Aristæas, which makes the Issedones to drive the Scythians westward, would be more probable than the other story, of the Massagetæ driving out the Scythians; since the Massagetæ and Scythians would be tribes of the same nation.

At all events, the Royal Scythians at the Euxine, and those, who from the description of Herodotus, are placed in the Desht Kipzak and Steppe, are confessedly of the same nation; the doubt remaining is, whether they occupied likewise the seats of the Massagetæ? The Desht Kipzak indeed may have been their *original seat*, in which either a *part* of the

nation remained at the first migration; or to which a colony might *return*, after the nation was settled at the Mæotis. The Kalmucs in their late migration, did no more than *return* to their former seats, near the Palkati Nor.

It is a question, which perhaps can never be *determined*, whether the Massagetæ, or Scythians of the Jaxartes, and those of the Euxine, were of the same stock; but it appears highly probable that they were: and the seeming doubt of our Author, whether he should class the Massagetæ with the Scythians, Clio, 201, 215, 216, furnishes, in our idea, some proof of it. The similitude in point of manners and customs between them, gave occasion to the ancients (though at a somewhat later date than the time of Herodotus,) to apply the name of Scythians to the Massagetæ, with whom they became later acquainted. We confess, that we cannot help regarding these notices on the whole, as tending to a proof that the Massagetan Scythians were the most ancient of the two, and probably the ancestors of those at the Euxine. The story of Targitaus seems to respect *Turkestan*, rather than *Euxine Scythia*; and Targitaus, if meant for Turk, should have been the common ancestor of all the Scythians<sup>9</sup>.

It is unquestionable that there is a great similarity

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 3, derives the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Arimaspi*, from the same *Scythian* stock; which Scythians were first settled at the *Araxes* (no doubt *Jaxartes* is meant, as well as by Herodotus), from whence they extended themselves *westward*, to the Euxine and Mæotis, and finally beyond the Tanais: and *eastward* to the ocean. This account appears probable.

in many of their customs; and which can only be referred to *imitation*. We shall enumerate a few of them.

Not to mention the Nomadic life common to both, since it might also have been followed by others in North Asia, we shall only observe,

1. That the *clothes* and *food* of the *Massagetæ* resemble those of the *Scythians*; Clio, 215.

2. That both nations lived in *waggon*s, or carriages; Clio, 216; Melp. 46, 121<sup>1</sup>.

3. That they fought chiefly on horseback; Clio, 215; Melp. 46, 136; and,

4. That they sacrificed *horses* to their deities; the *Massagetæ* in particular, to the sun. "They sacrifice horses to the sun, their *only* deity, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of mortal animals, to the swiftest of immortal beings." Clio, at the end. See also Melp. 61.

It however happens, unfortunately, that Herodotus is much too brief in his account of the customs of the *Massagetæ*, to allow any great scope of comparison; otherwise it is probable that more points of resemblance would have been found<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Justin remarks it also. He describes the Scythians generally, as a pastoral people, living in *waggon*s covered with skins, lib. ii. c. 2. He adds, that "the ignorance of vice has been of more advantage to *them*, than the knowledge of virtue has to *others*."

The circumstance of their living in *waggon*s was so familiarly known, that Lucian speaks of it in his *Toxaris*.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus relates of the *Massagetæ*, who had their wives in *common*, that the signal of retirement and privacy was the hanging up of the *quiver* of the individual before his *waggon*;

The Persians of the time of Xenophon, and the Parthians of later times, both of whom, but particularly the latter, being to be regarded as descendants of Massagetæ; whatsoever particulars we discover in the Persians and Parthians that are akin to Scythians, serves to shew a common origin between Massagetæ and Scythians.

Herodotus says, Melp. 70, " whenever the *Scythians* (of the Euxine) form alliances, they observe these ceremonies: a large earthen vessel is filled with wine, into this is poured some of the *blood* of the *contracting parties*, obtained by a slight incision of a knife or sword: in this vessel they dip a *scymetar*, *some arrows*, a *hatchet*, and a *spear*. After this, they perform solemn prayers," &c.

Xenophon, Anab. lib. ii. says, that the commanders of the Greeks, and Ariæus (the Persian), took an oath not to betray one another, and to *become allies*, &c.; which oath " was preceded by the sacrifice of a *boar*, a *bull*, a *wolf*, and a *ram*, whose blood being all mixed together in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks " *dipped* a *sword* into it, and

Clio, 216. Amongst the *Nasamones*, in Africa, whose habits were nearly the same, a *staff* was fixed in the ground before the *tent*; Melpom. 172. Dowe says, in his dissertation prefixed to his Indian History, p. xxxvii. that the *Facquirs* of some part of India, leave one of their *slippers* at the door, when engaged in certain visits, in which they are supposed to be privileged, by the *sanctity* of their order. Some of our ancestors are accused of the same want of delicacy as the *Massagetæ* and the *Nasamones*; but we have no particular record of their domestic customs. Herodotus acquits the Western Scythians of this practice, so contrary to decency and sentiment.

the Barbarians a *spear*." As the Scythians refined, by becoming stationary in Persia, one may suppose that the blood of brute animals was substituted for human blood <sup>3</sup>.

Strabo absolutely calls the Parthians, *Scythians*, in his account of the origin of the city of Ctesiphon, page 743 ; and, in fact, most of the ancient historians regard the Parthians as descendants of Scythians ; that is, of *Massagetae*. And there is no doubt but that the resemblance of character between the Massagetan race, and the Scythians of the Euxine, led them to regard both as being of the same stock <sup>4</sup>.

Justin, who seems to have known no other Scythians than those of the Euxine, to whom he refers whatsoever regards the Scythians at large, assigns to them a high degree of antiquity : for he makes them more ancient than even the Egyptians. His argument to prove it, is very curious. He says, that the Scythians inhabited an elevated tract, which was therefore fit for the reception of men, at an earlier period than Egypt, which had been covered with water ; lib. i. c. 1. But although much the same idea of the early state of Egypt was entertained by

<sup>3</sup> The above modes are represented as *permanent* customs in the above countries. But we find it practised *occasionally*, and in a more horrible manner, in Egypt, Thalia, 11 : and by Cati-line, as is told by Sallust.

<sup>4</sup> In Melpom. 65, it appears that the Western Scythians (our ancestors probably,) decided certain of their differences by combat, in presence of the king. This agrees exactly with one of our ancient customs : but we are daily getting rid of our *Scythian habits*.

Herodotus<sup>5</sup>, yet he supposes, with much reason, Euterpe, 15, that this circumstance does not make any alteration in the case, as the Egyptians would have migrated lower and lower down, as the newly formed land became habitable; wherefore the inhabitants of Lower Egypt would have been drawn from Upper Egypt, (or Thebes,) and Ethiopia. And according to him, the Scythians themselves did not pretend to antiquity; since they affirmed that their country was, of all others, the last peopled. Melpom. 5.

Few tracts could be better suited to a pastoral life than the seats of the *Euxine* Scythians, (the *Ukraine* and its neighbourhood;) in which particular they had greatly the advantage of the *Eastern* Scythians. The soil was rich, and abundantly watered; and the grass, as Herodotus observes, Melp. 58, "is, of all that we know, the fullest of moisture, which evidently appears from the dissection of their cattle<sup>6</sup>."

<sup>5</sup> His idea, Euterpe, 4, *et. seq.* being, that all the tract below the lake of *Mæris*, which is at the distance of seven days' journey from the sea, had been formed by the mud of the Nile; and was no better than a marsh in the reign of Menes. See also his reasoning, in chapters 10 to 13.

<sup>6</sup> Bell speaks of the *fertility* of the soil, and *rich pasturage* of the *Ukraine*. He also says that there are good horses; and large black cattle, which afford as good beef as any in the world. (Journey from Moscow to Constantinople.)

Mr. Bell has (in the same journey,) a curious remark respecting the nature of the river banks, in the line between Moscow, and Ismael, on the Danube. "By what I could observe, (says he) all the great rivers, from the Wolga to this place, have for the most part *high lands* for their western

They possessed the greatest abundance of provisions, 59, and were of course very populous, 81 ; but were generally destitute of wood, 61. They held in abhorrence foreign customs, 76 ; and like most of the eastern nations, kept no swine ; 63. Like other Nomadic nations, they were impatient of dependence, and possessed a great share of courage. Having no towns, and few cultivated fields, they could never be conquered. Our Author regarded Scythia, as a country exempt from the character of *absolute barbarism*, although surrounded by nations the *most barbarous* ; and says, “ Even of the Scythians I cannot in general speak with extraordinary commendation.” Melpom. 46. He has recorded their barbarous sacrifices to their deities, and at their funerals ; their practice of scalping, (which more than any other circumstance, has fixed the character of barbarism on the American Indians ;) their horrid custom of drinking the blood of enemies, and making drinking vessels of their skulls <sup>7</sup>. If these are not the acts of Barbarians, what are to be deemed such <sup>8</sup> ?

Notwithstanding some ambiguities, and apparent contradictions, in the geography of Scythia, Herodotus had certainly paid uncommon attention to the

banks, and *low flat* ones to the eastward.” It should be remarked that his track lay very far inland, and consequently very wide of Baron Tott's.

<sup>7</sup> See Melpomene, 60, 64, 65, and 72.

<sup>8</sup> Our Author says, Melp. 46, that amongst the Scythians and the bordering nations, there has been found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, save *Anacharsis* the Scythian. See more of him in Melpom. 76 and 77.



subject; and by the solemnity of his declaration, at setting out, we may suppose that he meant to be very impressive: for after saying, *Melp.* 16, that *Aristeas* had gone no farther than to the country of the *Issedones*, he adds, “For my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches, and the greatest attention to authenticity, have been able to procure, shall be faithfully related.” And perhaps it has seldom happened, that a traveller who collected his information concerning the geography of so extensive a tract, in so casual a way, has produced a description in which so many circumstances have been found to agree<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> *Scythia*, together with the nations bordering on it, and which are included in our Author's description, comprised about half of the length of Europe, in the line between the *Tanais* and the *Bay of Biscay*.

## SECTION V.

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OF THE COUNTRIES BORDERING ON WESTERN SCYTHIA.

*Relative positions of the nations bordering on the west and north of Scythia—The Melanchlæni, Androphagi, Neuri, and Agathyrsi—their general character—Positions of the tribes on the north-east and east of Scythia—Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians—Amazons—Budini, Geloni, and Thyssagetæ—The river Oarus taken for the Rha, or Wolga—Particulars relating to the Eastern tribes—Forests of the Budini, answer to those of Woronez—the CZAR PETER builds fleets there, and in the Tanais—Taurica, or Krimea—its Isthmus shut up, from the earliest times—The ancient Tauri highly barbarous; and subsisted chiefly on the plunder of wrecks.*

HAVING, by the above statement, shewn the general form, position, and extent of WESTERN SCYTHIA, both as it was in reality, and as our Author supposed it to be, we shall next proceed to state, from his descriptions, the positions of the countries said to border on it; which process, by determining the limits of Scythia itself, will also prove our former statement of them.

“As you advance from the Danube, inland,” says Herodotus, Melp. 100, “Scythia is terminated first by the AGATHYRSI, then by the NEURI, thirdly by the ANDROPHAGI, and *last of all*, by the MELANCHLÆNI:” none of which, as he observes in other places, are

Scythians<sup>1</sup>. These nations shut up Scythia, on the west and north; the Melanchlæni closing the boundary to the Tanais. The SAUROMATÆ, BUDINI, and GELONI, in like manner shut it up on the east; Melpom. 21, 22, 58, 108. On the south, it was chiefly bordered by the sea; so that the Scythians had only for neighbours, on that side, the TAURI, inhabitants of the Peninsula of Krimea; and the Getæ in the remote corner of Thrace<sup>2</sup>.

The position of the country of the Melanchlæni, which forms a leading point in the determination of the adjoining country of the Androphagi, on the west; as well as in some measure, of the whole line of the northern frontier, has been already fixed, by the act of determining the limits of Scythia, in pages 79, 80. For the Melanchlæni were situated at twenty journeys of 200 stadia each, to the northward of the Palus Mæotis, Melp. 20, and 101: and it having appeared, that in coming from the *west*, the Melanchlæni were the *last* people who bordered on the Scythians, inland; consequently, as the Tanais formed the eastern boundary of Scythia, the Melanchlæni must have closed up the space to the west bank of that river.

Here it may be proper to mention, that the Me-

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that some at least of these names were purely *Grecian*; and are therefore the *nick-names* given by that people, rather than the *proper* names of the nations. Or, the Grecians may have given *significant* Greek names, which in *sound* resembled the *proper* ones.

<sup>2</sup> The reader is requested to refer to the Map of Scythia, No. III. at page 66.

lanchlæni are spoken of by Procopius<sup>3</sup>, as the same with the Sarmatians, who are known to have been seated at, and beyond, the Tanais. But M. D'Anville was of opinion, that the tribes in general, that bordered on Scythia, occupied a more westerly position than we have assigned them: for instance, he places the Budini, who lay to the east of the Melanchlæni, on both sides of the Borysthenes, where we place the Melanchlæni and Androphagi.

The Androphagi bordered on the *west* of this tribe: because, first, they lay beyond, or to the *north* of the Borysthenitæ, who occupied the banks of the river from whence they were denominated, to the extent of eleven days' voyage above Hylæa; beyond which, a vast desert commenced, which extended to the Androphagi; Melpom. 18. And secondly, because Darius Hystaspes, on his return westward, passed out of the territory of the Melanchlæni into that of the Androphagi; Melp. 125. It is probable, then, that the Borysthenes might form the common boundary of these nations; and according to the given breadth of Scythia, 4,000 stadia, the general course of the river Desna and Sem may be taken for the line of separation between the Scythians and the Melanchlæni, at the height of the parallel of 51°<sup>4</sup>.

The southern border of the Androphagi, according to the given distance of the frontier of Scythia from

<sup>3</sup> Vandal War, lib. i.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus supposed that the tracts to the north of the *Melanchlæni* and *Androphagi*, that is, *Grand Russia* and *Lithuania*, were uninhabited.

the Euxine, must have advanced to the conflux of the rivers Borysthenes and Prypetz; and their extent westward, or rather south-westward, may be gathered from the position of their adjoining neighbours on that side, the Neuri. These, then, dwelt near the river Hypanis (or Bog,) Melp. 17; and, in 51, they are said to be *separated* from *Scythia*, by the river *Tyres*, (or Dneister.) Now, although we cannot exactly understand in what particular part of its course the Tyres formed the common boundary of the two countries, yet we have at least a proof that the Neuri *bordered on* the Tyres, and that they were not *far* from the Hypanis: for, as in order to preserve the given dimensions of Scythia, inland, we must extend it to the forks of the Borysthenes, on the one hand; and to the borders of Poland, and to the source of the river Pruth, on the other; the Neuri must of course have been situated towards the heads of the Tyres and Hypanis (Dneister and Bog<sup>5</sup>). Again, as the Neuri joined on the south-west to the Agathyrsi, who appear to have occupied Transylvania and the north-east part of Hungary, they must have touched on the *Bastarnian* Alps, which would separate them from the Agathyrsi. For *this* tribe, as we have seen, is the *first* that borders on Scythia, in advancing from the Danube, eastward, Melp. 100; and Scythia, as we have also seen, contained a part of Walachia, (see page 79.) It is also said, Melp. 49, that the river

<sup>5</sup> Yet Pliny says, lib. iv. c. 12, that the *Neuri* were situated at the source of the *Borysthenes*.

*Maris*, which joins the Danube, rises *amongst* the Agathyrsi; and as this answers clearly to the *Maros* of modern geography, this tribe should have occupied the province of Transylvania generally; together with the NE part of Hungary, which bordered on the Neuri.

It is said, Melpom. 104, that “the Agathyrsi, in most respects, resembled the Thracians.” This adds to the probability of their having possessed Transylvania, which is in the *neighbourhood* of Thrace, taken at large, according to the ideas of Herodotus; and therefore the account agrees in the principal points <sup>6</sup>.

Since, then, the Agathyrsi possessed the NE part of Hungary (in addition to Transylvania,) and had the Neuri adjacent to them on the NE, beyond the heads of the Pruth <sup>7</sup>, (which rises within Scythia;) and that the same Neuri were also in the neighbourhood of the rivers Hypanis and Tyres <sup>8</sup>, we must, of course, place the Neuri in the eastern part of the province of Galicia, and in part of the adjoining country of Lutzk, or Lusuc; whilst the Androphagi, who lay between the Neuri and the Melanchlæni, must have occupied Polish Russia, and both banks of the river Prypetz, the western head of the Borysthenes. And finally, the Melanchlæni themselves should have pos-

<sup>6</sup> In M. D'Anville's ancient geography, the *Agathyrsi* are found on the *Rubo*, or river of *Riga*. To us this does not appear to agree, either with the arrangement of *Herodotus*, or with the circumstances of the march of *Darius*. In like manner the *Budini* are placed by him at the *forks* of the *Borysthenes*!

<sup>7</sup> Melpom. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Melpom. 17 and 51.

sessed the present Russian governments, (either entirely, or in part,) of Nougorud, Orel, Mohilew, and Kursk; together with some lesser tracts, towards the Tanais, and the city of Moscow. Thus we arrange the nations bordering on the *west* and *north* of SCYTHIA.

Our Author appears to have known no particulars concerning the countries situated *beyond* the Androphagi and Melanchlæni, northward. In Melp. 18, 20, and 125, he supposes the whole tract to be desert, or marshy; and entirely uninhabited.

He characterizes these different nations in the following manner :

The AGATHYRSI are represented to be a people of effeminate manners, and abounding in gold; and excepting the strange custom of having their women in common, resemble the Thracians. The character of effeminacy did not, however, apply to them, on occasion of the invasion of the Persians; as will be seen in its place, and in Melp. 104, 125.

The NEURI observe Scythian customs, Melp. 105. There was a ridiculous idea amongst the Scythians, and the Greeks living in Scythia, that once a year the Neuri were *changed* into *wolves*; and in the space of a few days returned to their former shapes. "But this," says our Author, "I do not believe, although they swear that it is true." This is also reported in Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. c. 1. As they are said to have once taken refuge amongst the Budini, (beyond the Tanais,) they ought to have been but a small nation, Melp. 105.

The ANDROPHAGI, or *men-eaters*, are a separate

nation, and by no means Scythian; Melpom. 18. Again, they are perhaps of all mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is *feeding of cattle*: and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves. Melp. 106.

The MELANCHLÆNI are not Scythians, 20; but their manners are Scythian, 107. They are clothed in *black*, from whence they derive their name<sup>9</sup>. He adds, that "they are the only people known to feed on human flesh:" but there can hardly be a doubt that this should be applied to the *Androphagi* in the *preceding* sentence; as the *occupation* of the *Androphagi* should probably be applied to the *Melanchlæni*. All is then consistent.

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We shall next inquire into the positions and circumstances of the nations bordering on the east and north-east of Scythia.

The Tanais is said to separate the Royal Scythians from the SAUROMATÆ<sup>1</sup>, on the east; Melp. 20, and 57. These commenced at the *remote* parts of the Palus Mæotis, (speaking in respect of the Danube and Scythia;) and inhabited a space extending northward, equal to fifteen days' journey; Melp. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Tamerlane found in the mountains of *Kawuck* (a part of the Indian *Caucasus*,) a tribe who are named by his historian Sherefeddin, *Sia-poshians*, or *black-clothed*. The *Getes* beyond the *Jazartes*, had *black* ensigns. Sherefeddin's *Timur*, book iii. c. 6.

<sup>1</sup> They were named *Sauromatæ* by the Greeks; *Sarmatæ* by the Romans: Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12.



Beyond the Sauromatæ, (implied of course to be to the north, or north-east,) were the BUDINI, or BUDIANS, who inhabited a country *abounding with wood*: whereas, that of the Sauromatæ was quite destitute of trees, and may therefore be taken for part of the Desert of Astrakan, and of the country of the Don Cossacks: as that of the Budini, said to be exceedingly woody, Melpom. 21, for the country of *Woronez*; which is not only woody, but abounds with forests of fine ship timber; of which more in the sequel<sup>2</sup>.

Amongst the Budini was a Grecian colony named GELONI; who possessed a large city, built of wood, apparently the only city in all that quarter. It was named Gelonus, Melp. 108.

Beyond the Budini, lay a desert of seven or eight days' journey in extent; to the *east* of which were the THYSSAGETÆ, "a singular but populous nation, who supported themselves by hunting;" Melp. 22, 123. We shall say nothing at present concerning the nations situated further to the east, and extending towards the *Issedones* and *Massagetæ*; because they have no immediate reference to, and would only serve to embarrass, the present subject; which is exclusively WESTERN SCYTHIA, and the nations *immediately* bordering on it.

<sup>2</sup> Rubruquis, in A.D. 1253, crossed the countries between the Crimea and Saratow, on the Wolga. He reports that the country between the Tanais and the Wolga, (at a point very high up, as he was about fifteen days in travelling across from it to the Wolga,) was very fine, full of rivers, and interspersed with vast forests.

The Sauromatæ intended by Herodotus, (for his Scythia is the Sauromatia, or Sarmatia of later authors,) may be supposed to have extended along the eastern side of the Mæotis, and thence up the Tanais, to about the part where that river and the Wolga approach each other, to form the Isthmus at Zaritzyn; and on the probable supposition that the *lower part* of the *Donetz* was taken for the *Don*, they must have occupied *both* banks of that river to the same extent; that is, 15 journies, or 3,000 stadia.

This being admitted, the Budini must necessarily be placed *above* that Isthmus. To what extent, we are not told; but as they were "a great and numerous people," Melp. 108, a great space is required for them; and they may, with probability, be extended up the Tanais, beyond Woronez.

The position of the Geloni does not appear; otherwise than that they were *included* in the country of the Budini.

The Thyssagetæ, as has been said, lay to the east of the Budini, separated by a desert of seven or eight journies. They also were a populous nation; and, moreover, subsisted by hunting: consequently, *they* required a great extent of country *also*. It is said, in Melp. 123, that from the country of the Thyssagetæ, "four *great* rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Mæotis:" and that their names are "the *Lycus*, *Oarus*, *Tanais*, and the *Syrgis*." (This last seems to be the same that is intended by the name *Hyrgis*, in

Melp. 57, where it is said to be an adjunct of the Tanais.)

Since the Budini are placed to the *east* of the Tanais, and the Thyssagetæ, or at least a part of their country, to the *east* of that of the Budini; and that the country of the Thyssagetæ itself is very extensive; it may readily be conceived to extend along the *north* and *north-east* of the Budini, between the upper part of the Tanais, and the Wolga about Saratow. Nor is that extent of space greater than is allowed by our Author to the Sauromatæ.

It is unlikely that the geographers of those days were critically informed concerning the positions and courses of these rivers; especially as the Tanais is composed of many branches, and one of those (the *Medweditza*) springing from the very neighbourhood of the *Wolga*: so that it may well be, that although the Thyssagetæ had amongst them *certain* fountains of the Tanais, yet that the *Wolga* itself might have been one of the rivers intended; as by its course above *Zaritzyn*, it must have appeared, to a casual observer, to run towards the *Mæotis*: more especially, when the two great errors respecting the *Mæotis* and *Caspian* are considered: the *Mæotis* being supposed to extend a vast way to the east of its actual position, and the *Caspian* to be much more remote than it really is. Accordingly, the *Wolga* may well be taken for the *Oarus*<sup>3</sup>; and perhaps the

<sup>3</sup> The Roman name of the *Wolga* was *Rha*.

If the river of *Woronez* be taken for the *Oarus*, this difficulty

*Medweditza* and *Choper*, for the *Lycus* and *Syrgis*, or *Hyrgis* <sup>4</sup>.

We are told that Darius returned from the banks of the Oarus directly into Scythia; re-crossing, as it appears, the country of the Budini, and without entering into that of the Thyssagetæ; Melp. 124: and that from thence he followed the Scythians into the country of the Melanchlæni, situated, as we have seen, between the *Upper Borysthenes* and *Tanais*. This movement accords with the opinion just delivered, concerning the respective positions of the several nations adjoining to Scythia; and hence it will appear, that the Scythians, together with the bordering nations above described, must have occupied the whole of that vast tract, situated between the heads of the river Teisse (Tibiscus) on the west, and the Wolga on the east; northwards to the borders of Kazan and Moscow; NW to the heads of the Vistula; and southwards to the Danube, Euxine, Tanais, and the Desert of Astrakan.

It may be proper in this place to speak a word concerning the just-mentioned tribes bordering on the east of Scythia.

The SAUROMATÆ, according to our Author, were a

arises, that the *Thyssagetæ* could not then take the relative position assigned them by our Author, to the east of the *Budini*; which latter, as well from the position, as the description of their country, should have occupied the *woody* tract about *Woronez*, &c.

<sup>4</sup> There are two or more rivers of the name of *Irgis*, in modern geography, but they are to the east of the Wolga, and in the *Steppe*.

mixed breed of Scythians, and of Amazons, from the banks of the river *Thermodon*, in Asia Minor; Melp. 110. The story throughout has, doubtless, too much the air of fable. It appears that the language of the Sauromatæ was a *dialect* of the Scythian; 117; and that, on occasion of the Persian invasion, they considered the cause as common to both nations, and joined their arms to those of the Scythians accordingly; 119. And as they afterwards formed a separate body, whose department was to watch the Persian army at the Tanais, and to pursue and harass them, on occasion of their retreat, they ought to have been a numerous people; 120.

The Sauromatæ were then, in effect, Scythians; who had their language and customs somewhat changed, by intermarrying with women of another nation.

Since the story of the Amazons, in the way it is commonly told, is so exploded in these times, one is surprised how it came to be so universally believed, as that most of the writers of antiquity should speak of it as a fact. Nay, even our author has gone so far, in Calliope 27, as to make the Athenians say, that the Amazons had advanced from the river *Thermodon* to attack Attica! That a community of women existed for a short time, is not improbable, since accidents may have deprived them of their husbands; but were there not in that, as in every community, males growing up towards maturity?

Justin, lib. ii. c. 4, describes the origin of the Amazons to be this: a colony of *exiled* Scythians established themselves on the coast of the Euxine

Sea, in Cappadocia, near the river *Thermodon*; and being exceedingly troublesome to their neighbours, the men were all massacred. This accounts very rationally for the existence of a community of women; but who can believe that it continued? Human nature was, no doubt, the same on the banks of the *Thermodon*, as elsewhere; and a different state of things could only exist in the descriptions of poets, or of those who followed their authority.

It may be remarked, that every authority places the Amazons at the river *Thermodon*, and in the plains of *Themiscyra*, which it waters. And from hence Herodotus transports a part of them by sea, to the opposite shore, near *Cremnis*, a port in the *Mæotis*, amongst the Royal Scythians; from whence their new husbands carry them beyond the *Tanais*, into *Sauromatæ*.

The *BUDINI* were a great and numerous people: they painted their bodies *blue* and *red*; *Melp.* 108; and had the character of being *magicians*; 105. They are said in one place, 21, to be husbandmen, but in another, 109, to be feeders of cattle; in contradistinction to the *GELONI*, who were an agricultural people.

Their country abounds with timber; which gave occasion to the building of a large city with that material by the *Geloni*, who were Greeks, expelled from their commercial towns, (we must suppose on the coast of the *Euxine*,) and took refuge amongst the *Budini*. They had temples built in the Grecian manner, to Grecian deities; with the statues, altars,

and shrines, all of wood; 108. The Greeks were apt to confound both nations under the name of Geloni, although they differed widely in appearance, complexion, and habits. Within their country, amidst the thickest woods, there is a large lake, in which (says our Author) are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts; and whose skins were used to border garments; and their testicles were esteemed useful in hysteric diseases; 109.

It is said, 105, that the Neuri, on a particular occasion, took refuge with the Budini: so that there are *two* instances, in which they afforded an asylum to distressed strangers. This is a most favourable *trait* of their character. They had the reputation of being *magicians*: they were probably an ingenious people, and excelled their neighbours in arts, as well as in hospitality. To add to their character, *they*, together with the Geloni, generously joined their arms with the Scythians and Sauromatæ, in repelling the Persian invader; 119.

The country of the Budini has been taken for that of Woronez and its neighbourhood (page 117); as well from description as position; it being, like the other, full of forests. These, in modern times, have been converted to purposes very different from those to which the Geloni applied them: for, in 1703, the CZAR PETER built a large fleet of ships, almost a navy, at Woronez, and in its neighbourhood; and which were floated down by the river Don to Azoph, and the Euxine. The account of it may be

seen in Le Brun, who visited Woronez in the train of the Czar<sup>5</sup>. He relates, that he saw at *Stepena*, 10 ships; 47 others at *Woronez*; and 11 others in the river Don, not far below Woronez; which is itself situated on a river of the same name, near its conflux with the Don, in about the parallel of 52°. It is understood that almost all the above 68 ships were ships of war of different rates; and of which 16 are *specified* to be from 86 to 54 guns; and many others are implied to be of considerable force. There were besides, 200 brigantines, mostly built at Woronez. And he adds, that there were, at the same time, 400 very substantial ones on the Borysthene, in the neighbourhood of Krim Tartary; 300 flat boats in the Wolga; and at Azoph 18 men of war, and some smaller vessels. Some of these were built after the English mode; others, after the Dutch, Venetian, and Italian; but whether this variety was a necessary consequence of employing shipwrights of different nations, or was meant for the purpose of experiment, we are not told. Le Brun, however, who had probably no partiality for the English, says that the ship of 86 guns, built at Woronez under the direction of the Czar himself, and named after him, was built in the English style. Another, under the same inspection, was built in the Don; but neither the rate, nor the fashion of it, are mentioned. It has been understood that the Czar thought the English the best shipwrights.

When we reflect on the various personal labours

<sup>5</sup> See Le Brun's Travels, vol. i.



of this TRULY GREAT Prince, all tending to produce either an immediate, or a remote advantage to his country; now enforcing duty by example, now operating the direct means of national strength or improvement; considering also the unusual means pursued by him, to obtain the requisite degree of knowledge; we are struck with admiration; and cannot help exclaiming with Addison, "WHO BEFORE HIM, EVER LEFT A THRONE, TO LEARN TO SIT IN IT WITH A BETTER GRACE?" The effect has been, not only to humanize, to protect, to enrich, his country, but to raise it to that summit of power, as to flatter the friends of ORDER, (and of VIRTUE, of which it is the PARENT,) that its interference in the present AWFUL contest, may produce the happy consequences of restoring the lost balance of power in Europe; by humbling *that government*, whose views, like those of Lucifer, seem to be no other than to render mankind wicked, in order to increase the number of its subjects.

Concerning the THYSSAGETÆ, neighbours to the Budini and Geloni, our Author appears to have known but little. This was probably owing to the circumstance of Darius Hystaspes having stopt short on the borders of their country; a presumptive proof that the information concerning these countries was derived from the Persian expedition. Herodotus says nothing more concerning the Thyssagetae than that they were "a *singular* but *populous* nation, who support themselves by *hunting* <sup>6</sup>."

<sup>6</sup> Pliny mentions the *Thyssagetae*, as well as most of the other nations spoken of in this chapter; as the *Agathyrsi*, *Budini*,

We shall close this section with some few observations on the TAURI, or inhabitants of the *Krimea*; and on the antiquity of the practice of shutting up this remarkable Peninsula with a wall, or fortified line, or ditch, across the narrow Isthmus that joins it to the Continent.

Herodotus speaks of a *trench*, which the slaves of the Scythians, who usurped the places of their masters, during their absence in the Median war, had dug, with a view to fortify themselves against those masters, on their return. It is said, in Melpom. 3, that they "intersected the country, by a large and deep trench, which extended from the mountains of *Tauris* to the *Palus Mæotis*, and encamped on the opposite side to dispute the passage." He speaks again of the same trench, in Melpom. 20, as the eastern boundary of the Royal Scythians. No mountains, however, are marked in any position, corresponding to the above idea; and we have never heard of any mountains of *Tauris*, save those *within* the *Krimea* itself, and which, by their position, seem to be out of the question here<sup>7</sup>. Nor does our

*Geloni*, *Neuri*, *Sauromatæ*, &c. but without any discrimination as to position; see lib. iv. c. 12. He says, that the *Thyssagetæ* have *blue* hair: this may have been amongst the singularities alluded to by Herodotus.

<sup>7</sup> Rubruquis, who travelled from the *Krimea* to the *Volga*, in the line towards *Saratov*, describes a vast plain, 20 journies in extent, without mountain, tree, or stone, and with excellent pasturage. He went the first ten days without seeing an inhabitant. The tract in question was that inhabited by the *Royal Scythians* of our Author.

Author speak of any other *Tauris*, or *Taurica*, than what is unequivocally intended for the *Krimea*. It is probable, therefore, that the trench intended was that which shut up the just-mentioned Peninsula: and more especially, as such trenches or walls, or both, are clearly pointed out by other historians. In this case, therefore, some other word than *mountains* should be read: and the trench (which, in fortification, always implies a rampart also,) would have been drawn from the Palus Mæotis to the opposite shore of *Tauris*. Nothing appears more probable, than that the slaves should have availed themselves of the natural advantages of the situation to improve their plan of defence.

Strabo describes a fortified line, p. 311, 312; and Pliny, although he does not mention any work of this kind, says, lib. iv. c. 12, that *Taphræ*, a town, stands on the neck of land, which joins the peninsula to the continent; which name so strongly implies a *trench*, and this last, a rampart also, that it cannot be doubted that the town was named from the fortification; as *Or-kapi*, or *Perekop*, is at present. Pomponius Mela says the same. Ptolemy places *Taphros* in the same situation: and it is probable that the same is alluded to in the *Toxaris* of Lucian, where the *Bosphoritæ* are enjoined by the Scythians to keep *within* the *Trachon*; perhaps corrupted from *Taphros*. The *Krimea* was denominated by the Romans, the kingdom of *Bosphorus*.

Thus, it may be conceived, that the *Krimea* has ever been shut up, since it was first firmly united to the continent, by the alluvions, either of the sea, or

of the Borysthenes, or both. The nature of the defences have no doubt varied with the ability of the possessor; and the works now existing, appear to be as much beyond the ability of a community, whose possessions were limited to that peninsula alone, as the pyramids of Egypt were beyond a mere sovereign of that kingdom. The inference, it is conceived, should be, that they were constructed by the Genoese, whilst they continued masters of the Krimea, and of the vast commerce that centered in it, as an *emporium*; the profits of which were fully adequate to such an expence. Masters of the shores of the Euxine, and of both the *Bosphori*, the Krimea, thus shut up with a rampart, was invulnerable. That the Genoese, then, were the authors of that famous rampart now in existence, we think highly probable; and the following circumstances appear to be in proof of it.

Rubruquis, who visited the Krimea in his way to the court of Mangoukan, in 1253, mentions the narrow Isthmus, but says nothing concerning any fortification on it. He compares the isthmus to a *great ditch*, or hollow, between the two seas. This might be meant either to express the *remains* of a *former ditch*, or of a *hollow* occasioned by the *meeting* of the *slope*, described by Baron Tott, with a plain below. See page 92.

This visit of Rubruquis was made during the reign of BATOU KAN, grandson of JINGHIS<sup>8</sup>, and king of

<sup>8</sup> It is believed that the descendants of Jinghis Kan have continued to be sovereigns, either real or nominal, of the Krimea, down to the present age.

Kipzak, &c. ; whose residence was at *Serai* on the Wolga, and whose empire included the Krimea, as well as the adjoining country. Had there been a wall originally, it is probable that it would have gone to decay, when the country on both sides belonged to the same sovereign ; as the Picts' wall in our island, on the change of circumstances that has taken place.

It must surely be inferred from the words of Rubruquis, that no rampart existed there in 1253 ; and the emperors of Constantinople do not appear to have been in a state to execute such a work, posterior to the middle of the 13th century. But it is well known that the Genoese possessed the Krimea, in full power, during the succeeding century, and even to a later period. The passages selected in the note<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>9</sup> " The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor.

" From this colony they engaged with superior advantage in the lucrative trade of the Black Sea ; and their industry supplied the Greeks with fish and corn ; two articles of food almost equally important to a superstitious people. The spontaneous bounty of nature appears to have bestowed the harvests of the Ukraine, the produce of a rude and savage husbandry ; and the endless exportation of salt fish and caviare, is annually renewed by the enormous sturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, in their last station of the rich mud and shallow water of the Mæotis. The waters of the Oxus, the Caspian, the Wolga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious passage for the gems and spices of India ; and after three months' march, the caravans of Carizme met the Italian vessels in the harbours of Krimea. These various branches of trade were monopolized by the diligence and power of the Genoese. Their rivals of Venice

from the elegant historian of declining Rome, will clearly shew the ability of the Genoese to perform, not only the work in question, but even greater ones.

Baron Tott speaks as follows concerning these famous lines. He had previously said that they extended three quarters of a French league, or about two British miles.

“ No picture of this kind can be more respectable. Excepting that the works are rather gigantic, I know of none where nature is better seconded by art. The solidity of the intrenchment is likewise to be depended on : and will long continue to resist that ignorance which neglects every thing. Nothing points out the *æra* of its construction, but every thing conspires to prove it of a date anterior to the Tartars ; or if not, that these people were at least better informed in ancient times than at present.”

The Baron adds, that these works, were they properly palisadoed and armed, would protect the Krimea against an army of 100,000 men ; but that

and Pisa were forcibly expelled : the natives were awed by the castles and cities, which arose on the foundations of their humble factories ; and their principal establishment of Caffa was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed or famished Constantinople according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, and even the toll, of the Bosphorus ; and while they derived from these objects a revenue of 200,000 pieces of gold, a remnant of 30,000 was reluctantly allowed to the emperor.”—(Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. xi. pp. 390. 392, *et seq.* 8vo. edition.)

the tongue of land between the lake *Siwasch* and the Mæotis having been neglected, the Russians had twice entered it that way<sup>1</sup>.

The TAURI, or inhabitants of the *Krimea*, one would naturally have expected to have found ranked amongst the Scythians; but the matter was otherwise; for in the consultation held by the Scythians with their *neighbours*, on occasion of the Persian invasion, the Tauri are classed amongst the *latter*, and are distinguished by some very peculiar, as well as abominable, customs.

“ All strangers shipwrecked on their coasts, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to *a virgin*. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians *themselves* assert to be IPHIGENIA, the daughter of Agamemnon;” Melpom. 103. Here it appears, that Iphigenia is put in the place of Diana; to whom she is, by others, represented as the priestess<sup>2</sup>. Our

<sup>1</sup> It may not perhaps be going too far, if we were to advance an opinion, that, to RUSSIA, the *future* value of the *Krimea*, and province of *Taurida* (including the *embouchure* of the Borysthenes), will exceed that of her Asiatic possessions collectively.

<sup>2</sup> “ On that inhospitable shore, EURIPIDES, embellishing with exquisite art the tales of antiquity, has placed the scene of one of his most affecting tragedies. The bloody sacrifices of Diana, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, and the triumph of virtue and religion over savage fierceness, serve to represent an historical truth, that the TAURI, the original inhabitants of the Peninsula, were, in some degree, reclaimed from their brutal manners, by a gradual intercourse with the Grecian colonies, which settled along the maritime coast.” (Gibbon, Vol. i. p. 421.)

Author allows that Diana was worshipped by the Thracians ; Terpsichore, c. 7.

The whole subsistence of the Tauri, according to our Author, was procured by acts of plunder and hostility. One custom alone, marks their savage character : they placed the head of a prisoner on a stake at the top of their chimnies, to operate as a charm for the protection of their families : as the superstitious amongst us nail a horse-shoe on the threshold, or against the mast of a ship. Our practice, though equally absurd, is at least harmless in itself ; and does not blunt the feelings of the rising generation. From this, and other barbarous tribes along its coasts, we may suppose the Black sea acquired amongst the ancients, the title of *inhospitable* <sup>3</sup>.

It has pretty generally happened, that the inhabitants of coasts, particularly dangerous to navigation, are exceedingly unfeeling and ferocious ; a habit doubtless acquired by plundering wrecks ; which includes also, occasionally, the stripping and maltreating of those who cannot escape from them ; and, by an easy transition, to murder. We shall say nothing concerning certain of our own countrymen, in this respect, as they are growing better : but it is worth remarking, that as the *Nasamones* at the *Greater Syrtis* were infamous in ancient times for these practices, so, according to Mr. Bruce, who was shipwrecked there, they are not mended in the pre-

<sup>3</sup> Its ancient name was *Axenus* ; afterwards changed to *Euxinus* : Pliny, iv. c. 12 ; and vi. c. 1.



sent times. (See his Introduction, Vol. i.) Many other instances could be adduced; and they absolutely appear to be an effect of geographical situation, combined with adventitious circumstances, on the human mind.

## SECTION VI.

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### EXPEDITION OF DARIUS HYSTASPES TO WESTERN SCYTHIA.

*The march of DARIUS into Scythia may be traced in a general way—passes the Danube, and leaves the floating bridge in charge of the Ionians—Marches eastward to the Tanais, which he crosses, into Sarmatia; the Scythians retreating before him—advances to the Oarus, where he erects a chain of fortresses—the Oarus, (taken for the Wolga,) the term of his expedition, eastward—Scythians lead him to the northward and westward, into the territories of the Seceders, the Melanchlæni, Androphagi, and Neuri, in order to save their own lands—The Agathyrsi, on whom the same is attempted, resist both Scythians and Persians—Losses and distresses of the Persian army—recover their bridge on the Danube; which the Scythians could not prevail on the Ionians to destroy—Sepulchres of the kings of Scythia—Barbarous funerals—Gold buried with the bodies—Expedition of Darius, compared with that of Cyrus, against the eastern Scythians—the former invasion of Media, by the Scythians, gave rise to the expedition of Darius—the Scythians, the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures—Idea of the time consumed in the expedition—Ionian and Æolian fleet attend Darius—Conjecture about the supply of provisions for the Persian army—Bridges of Darius and Xerxes, over the Bosphorus and Hellespont—more of vain-glory than use, in these works—Idea of the breadth of the two Straits—Difficulties in the description of Xerxes' Bridge, attempted to be solved.*

THE march of DARIUS HYSTASPES through Scythia, cannot, for want of circumstantial detail, be *accu-*

*rately followed* on the map. But it may, however, be done in a general way ; and we shall endeavour to trace it by the aid of those circumstances which present themselves. The trace itself will be found on the Map, No. III. at page 66.

He crossed the Danube over a bridge of boats, at the place where it first begins to branch off, to form the several channels through which it enters the Euxine<sup>1</sup>; Melp. 89. The place, therefore, may be supposed to have been not far above the site of *Ismail*, and between that and the conflux of the *Pruth* with the *Danube*. The Iönian fleet, which was dispatched from the Bosphorus to perform the service of laying the bridge, sailed two days up from the sea, in order to arrive at the place ; Melp. 89.

Having left the Iönians in charge of the bridge, he marched *through* Scythia, *eastward* to the Tanais ; the Scythian army, which was divided into two bodies, retiring regularly before him, at the distance of a day's march ; filling up the wells, and destroying the produce of the fields ; 120, 121, 122. Their families, together with such of their cattle as were not necessary to their immediate subsistence, were previously sent off to the northern frontier ; 121.

Darius, crossing the Tanais, came into the territories of the Sauromatæ ; and from thence into those of the Budini, 122 ; which having also crossed, he finally came to the desert of seven or eight journies

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bell says that it enters the Euxine, by a single channel only : but this is contrary to every other report, ancient and modern.

in breadth, which, as we have seen, page 116, separated the country of the Budini from that of the Thyssagetæ; Melp. 22, 123: and here he halted on the banks of the river *Oarus*, where he constructed eight fortresses or *redoubts*, at the distance of about six miles from each other; the ruins of which, says our Author, "have been visible to my time;" 124. And this was the most distant point of the expedition of Darius, *eastward*.

It has been shewn, that the Thyssagetæ lived beyond this desert; and that the river Tanais, as well as the Oarus, and two others, passed *through*, or *by*, their country; which, by circumstances, must have been very extensive. And on this ground we have supposed it to lie between the Tanais and the Wolga, concluding also this latter to be intended, by the Oarus; as by its course above Zaritzyn, it might be supposed, by an ordinary observer, to run towards the Mæotis, rather than towards the Caspian.

The Oarus then, was the utmost term of the march of Darius; and that Oarus we have taken for the Wolga. The desert, on the border of which he halted, we have supposed to begin below Saratow; as the territories of the Thyssagetæ were supposed to commence near that place; page 117; and hence we fix the term of Darius's expedition, about the great bend of the Wolga, near *Saratow*<sup>2</sup>.

A more than ordinary cause must have deter-

<sup>2</sup> There actually appears in Delisle's Map of Russia (see his Atlas, 2d sheet Russia,) a desert, said to be of 10 days' extent, near that part of the Wolga just mentioned.

mined the measure of erecting the chain of fortresses, extending a length of 420 stadia; that is, 40 or more English miles: but that object, whatsoever it was, cannot now be ascertained. Could one suppose that Herodotus was inaccurate, in his statement of the particulars of the march, or of the relative positions of the countries hereabouts, one might suspect that the chain of redoubts extended between the Wolga and Don, at the Isthmus of Zaritzyn; but by the text, we must look towards Saratow. It is probable, that at whatsoever point it was, the depth and rapidity of the Wolga opposed the farther progress both of the Persians and Scythians: and the retrograde movement of the Scythians, circuitously, by the *higher parts of the country, into Scythia* (we must suppose, by traversing the northern part of the Budians' territory,) seems to have determined the future line of march of the Persians; which was now towards the *west*, pursuing *another* division of the Scythians, who regulated their position, at the distance of one day's march *before* the Persians; Melpom. 124. It appears that they were enabled to do this, because their army consisted chiefly of horse; the Persian army, chiefly of infantry; 136.

In our discussion of the positions of the nations bordering on Scythia, it appeared, pages 115 and 117, that the Sauromatæ extended fifteen journeys to the *north, up* the course of the Tanais. That the country of the Budini and Geloni began at that point; and these being each of them a great and numerous people, must have extended a great way

to the north, as well as to the east; and moreover, living in a country full of vast forests, must probably have extended far within the country of Woronez: and finally, that the Thyssagetæ lay beyond them, to the *east*, and also to the *north*; as having within their territory the *fountains* of the Tanais.

From all this it is clear, that the Persians were led very far to the north: and that it had been the intent of the Scythians to entangle them in the desert lying between the Budini and Thyssagetæ; from whence they might not have been able easily to escape. But finding this scheme impracticable, they made the circuit before described, to the *north* and *west*, leaving the Persians at fault: in consequence of which, the latter turned *westward*, on a supposition that the detachment which they had pursued, had retired that way: but arriving in Scythia, they found, instead of *that* detachment, *two other* bodies of Scythians, which retreated before them, in the manner before described; and soon after led them amongst the Melanchlæni, who have been described to lie on the northern frontier of the Royal Scythians. See pages 80, 110.

Considering the intricate course of the Tanais, and the circumstance of its having many large adjuncts, it is probable that the Persians might not be correct in their report of its course; and therefore it would be vain to attempt to follow them, in detail. It appears probable, however, that they crossed it at a point, much *above* its *embouchure* in the Palus Mæotis; as the Scythians evidently led them up to

the northward, in order to draw them with more ease into the territories of the bordering nations, who had refused to co-operate with them, in the common defence of the country; a system formed from the beginning, Melp. 120. For, on occasion of the consultation between the Scythians and their neighbours, the *Sauromatæ*, *Budini*, *Geloni*, *Melanchlæni*, *Androphagi*, *Neuri*, *Agathyrsi*, and *Tauri*; the THREE former alone, engaged to join in the general defence, Melpom. 119, 120. Darius then, having been drawn up to the *north*, nearly to the height of the Thyssagetæ, and from whence he must have returned *westward*, through the Budians' country, would finally have but a *corner* of Scythia to cross, before he was led by the Scythians, amongst the Melanchlæni; and from thence, successively, amongst the Androphagi and Neuri, Melpom. 124, 125; all of whom "were harassed by *both* parties, and fled in alarm to the deserts of the north," Melp. 125; by which means, the Scythians saved their own lands, and effectually punished their inactive or treacherous neighbours.

The same conduct was also intended towards the Agathyrsi, had they not possessed too much wisdom and courage to allow it<sup>3</sup>, 125: perhaps also a strong country, which enabled them to use those advantages, and which the others might not possess; for the Agathyrsi appear to have held the country of Transylvania, and the NE part of Hungary; and conse-

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus styles them effeminate, in Melpom. 104; but this does not accord with their conduct in this case.

quently had a strong frontier towards the east, in the vast ridges, named by the ancients, the *Bastarnian Alps*, and *Carpathian Mountains*.

The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, retreated once more into their own country, still followed by the Persians; who now finding that the nature of the country and warfare of the Scythians was such, as that no impression could be made on them; and being themselves reduced to distress for provisions, directed their march towards their bridge on the Danube, being now returned to that neighbourhood, Melp. 125, *et seq.*

Meanwhile the Scythians, having accomplished their principal purpose of creating delay, by compelling the enemy to take so wide a circuit, tried their last project of inducing the Iönians to break the bridge, whilst their armies watched opportunities of attacking the Persians with advantage. The time chosen, was during the Persian meals, and at night; and the Scythians, who were chiefly cavalry, and superior to those of the Persians, were generally successful in the outset, but were always beaten back, when the infantry came to act, Melp. 128. All which appears probable; for the infantry of civilized nations is ever superior to that of barbarians, whatsoever the comparative state of their cavalry may be. But the Persian as well as the Indian camps are very liable to surprise, through the remissness and indolence of their guards and sentinels. It is related by Xenophon, that the Persian army which followed the Greeks, during their memorable retreat, notwithstanding their vast su-



periority in cavalry, always retired at the close of the day, to the distance of about 60 stadia, for fear of a surprise from the Greeks during the night <sup>4</sup>.

It was not without great loss and disgrace that the Persians recovered their bridge, which the Iönians had preserved for them, in despite of the remonstrances and entreaties of the Scythians; but the motives which induced this conduct, were neither generosity, nor pity towards men in distress; they were nothing else than the unwarrantable plans of ambition, of some of the petty princes of Iönia, Melp. 137, 138.

The above march and retreat of Darius Hystaspes, agrees so well with our Author's geography of Scythia, and the bordering nations, making some allowances for his misconceptions, that it may be suspected that he drew his materials for the *inland* part of the geography, scanty as they may be, from the history of this expedition. He might have collected them immediately from the Greeks, who were settled on the coast of the Euxine, and even of Scythia, when he visited it: which might have been within a century after the events happened.

It was during the *return* of the Persians, but not, according to the order of the events, till they were

<sup>4</sup> "They (the Persians) never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than 60 stadia, for fear these should fall upon them in the night. A Persian army being then subject to great inconveniences: for their horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away," &c. &c. He has besides to equip himself, and his horse; Anab. lib. iii. Exactly the same state of things exists in the East at present.

arrived at the borders of the Agathyrsi, that the king of Scythia bid them beware of doing any injury to the sepulchres of his ancestors, Melpom. 127. But as these sepulchres are described, in 71, to be situated in the extreme northern quarter of Scythia, and at the side of the Borysthenes, there should have intervened between the Persian army and the sepulchres, at the time of this threat, a space nearly equal to the length of the territories of the Androphagi and Neuri collectively.

“ The sepulchres of the kings of SCYTHIA (says our Author, Melpom. 71.) are in the district of the *Gerrhi*—near the place where the Borysthenes *begins* to be navigable—and in the *remotest* part of Scythia.” Again, in 53, “ The course of this river may be pursued as far as the country called *Ger-rhus*, through a voyage of 40 days : and is known to flow from the north.”

The barbarous customs of Scythia, condemned to the same grave with their deceased prince, one of his favourite women, and several of his domestics ; all of whom were previously strangled. They likewise buried with him, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and finally some *golden goblets* ; for, says the Historian, “ they possess neither *silver* nor *brass*.” The common grave of these, was “ a large quadrangular excavation, which they filled up with earth, and seemed to be emulous in their endeavours to raise as high a mound as possible.” Melp. 71.

Modern discoveries abundantly prove the general truth of our Author's report, concerning the sepul-

chres of the ancient Scythians ; if it be allowed that a part of the *tumuli*, found in the plains towards the upper branches of the *Irtish*, *Oby*, &c. are of so ancient a date : or, on the other hand, if the sepulchres in question are not so ancient, it at least proves, that the same custom prevailed amongst their descendants. It appears, that *tumuli* are scattered over the whole tract, from the borders of the *Wolga* and its western branches, to the lake *Baikal*<sup>5</sup>. Those amongst them, which have attracted the greatest notice, on the score of the gold and silver (but principally the former) contained in them, lie between the *Wolga* and the *Oby* : for those which are farther to the east, and more particularly at the upper part of the *Jenisei*, have the utensils contained in them, of copper<sup>6</sup>.

It has not come to our knowledge, that any of these monuments have been found in the *Ukraine* ; where the sepulchres described by Herodotus should have been : however, it may be conceived, that it is a sufficient testimony of the general truth of his description, that they are found so far to the west, as

<sup>5</sup> These sepulchres are discovered only in plain and extensive deserts, formerly the abode of a nation which seems to have subsisted by pasturage and the produce of the chase. (Mr. Tooke ; *Archæologia*, Vol. vii. p. 223.)

<sup>6</sup> The *gold*, and *copper*, found in the different sepulchres, gave occasion to a conjecture, that mines of those metals existed in their respective neighbourhoods ; which conjecture was verified by the discovery of the copper mines of *Sayane* ; and of the gold mines of *Kolyvan*, in the tract adjoining to the *Altaian* mountains.

the *southern* parts of *Russia*, and on the banks of the Okka<sup>7</sup>, Wolga, and Tanais: since much the same sort of customs may have been supposed to exist amongst the Scythians and Sarmatians generally: and it is certain that the *Sarmatians* and *seceding Scythians* occupied the tracts just mentioned.

It is true that Mr. Tooke (from whose writings our knowledge in this matter, as well as other more important ones, is more particularly derived<sup>8</sup>, and who is therefore entitled to our sincerest thanks,) supposes these monuments to be of a much more modern date: for he refers them to the Tartars of Jinghis Kan and their first successors: and thus much appears certain, that the *Kalmucs* are still in the habit of burying horses, arms, &c. with their chiefs. But as the Russians and Tartars themselves, appear to regard the articles found in some of the tombs, as being very ancient, and unlike what are now found amongst them, we should at least be led to conclude, that the monuments are of very different ages; and that, of course, there may be amongst them, those of the *ancient Scythians*, as well as of the *modern Tartars*, who succeeded them. The bodies wrapt in, or placed between, thin *sheets* of gold, may perhaps be referred to the latter class: but Mr. Tooke speaks also of *gold* and *silver utensils*, of *skeletons* of *horses*, as well as the *bones* of *men*; of *many bodies* deposited in the *same*

<sup>7</sup> The Okka is the south-west branch of the Wolga, and had its source amongst the Melanchlæni.

<sup>8</sup> Archæologia, Vol. vii.; and Russia.

grave; together with *weapons* and implements of war, and *domestic utensils*: so that, of whatsoever age these may have been, they prove the general statement of Herodotus, as to the custom of the people of that country. In some of the *tumuli* were found *images* and *idols* °.

Many tumuli are found in and about the banks of the Tanais, in the quarter towards the Mæotis. One of these, of considerable magnitude, and said to be the sepulchre of *Gulbedin*, is described in the *voyage to Tana*, by Barbaro, in the 15th century. It stood about 60 miles above Tana, (which stood at or near Azoph,) at the side of the Tanais, and consequently on the border of the *Sarmatian* territory; according to the distribution of the space, by Herodotus. It was 80 paces in diameter, by 50 in height. This was dug into, in the expectation of finding a treasure; for it is related that one of the tumuli towards the *Altaian* mountains afforded no less than forty pounds weight of gold<sup>1</sup>: but although much cost and labour were bestowed on the work, Barbaro says, that they only went to the depth of 10 paces; having intersected the tumulus by a trench of 8 paces in breadth, to that depth. Of course it could not be expected that they should have reached the tomb itself.

The substances found were nothing more than the burnt bones of fishes, the remains of burnt wood, and canes; and of *grain*, of the *millet* kind; save only, half the handle of a small silver vessel, wrought

° Archæol. Vol. vii.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Vol. ii.

into the form of the head of a snake. There were no bones of men, or of quadrupedes, found.

Mr. Tooke says generally, that some of the Russian and Siberian sepulchres, are *perfect tumuli*, raised to an enormous height; whilst others are almost level with the ground. Some are encompassed with a square wall of large quarry stones, &c. In some, the earth is excavated several fathoms deep, whilst others are only dug to a sufficient depth for covering the body. After this long digression, we return once more to the narrative.

It appears, that on the invasion of the Persians, the Scythians sent away their families, in the carriages in which *they usually dwelt*, together with such a portion of their cattle, as was not necessary to their immediate subsistence, or conveniency, to the *northward*, Melp. 121. Perhaps they were sent into the neighbourhood of the sepulchres, as a place that was meant to be defended to the last.

The expedition of Darius Hystaspes, although it terminated more fortunately for himself (personally,) than that of his predecessor Cyrus, against the Eastern Scythians (Massagetæ), yet, in respect of the wisdom that dictated the two expeditions, as well as in respect of their ultimate success, they seem to be nearly on a par. The Persians had nothing to boast of, in either case; any more than in their attack on the *Carduchians*, as related by Xenophon in the *Anabasis*, lib. iii. at the end.

Our Author assigns as the cause of the invasion of Scythia, by Darius Hystaspes, that "he was desirous of avenging on the Scythians, the injuries they

had formerly committed, by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. For during a period of 28 years they retained the sovereignty of Upper Asia, by expelling the Medes, *its ancient possessors*," Melpomene, c. 1. A reason is never wanting for doing that, which our inclinations prompt us to.

The unsuccessful expedition of Darius only provoked other attacks and menaces from the Scythians; such as the attack of the Chersonesus of Thrace, and their alliance with the Spartans, by which it was agreed that the Scythians should invade *Media* (that is, the *empire of Persia*) by the way of the Phasis of Colchis, and the Spartans by way of Ephesus, until the two armies should form a junction; Erato, 40 and 84. This negotiation happened during the reign of Cleomenes.

The GOG and MAGOG of Ezekiel must be understood to be meant for the SCYTHIANS, who made the above irruption into Media; and even carried their devastations into Palestine, and to the borders of Egypt. (See Herodotus, Melp. c. 1; and Clio, 103, *et seq.*) We are aware that the chronology, as it stands, does not exactly bear us out; but as the prophecies of Ezekiel are allowed to have begun at about 595 years before Christ, and the Scythians to have continued in Western Asia till about 605, it may be conceived that a small error in chronology, (and let it be remembered, that Sir Isaac Newton has made it appear probable, that an error of about 120 years, existed in the date of the foundation of Rome), may *change* the *order* of the two events.

The *description* of the host of GOG, designed also under the name of TOGARMAH of the *North*, is precisely Scythian, or Tartarian: "Coming like a *storm*, and covering the land, like a *cloud*;" Ezekiel, ch. xxxviii. verses 9 and 16. "Coming out of the *north*; all of them *riding on horses*;" ver. 15. "Bows and arrows," a part of their weapons, chap. xxxix. ver. 3. "I will smite thy *bow* out of thy left hand, and will cause thine *arrows* to fall out of thy right hand."

In Genesis x. 2, MAGOG is the son of Japhet: as is GOMER<sup>2</sup>, who is mentioned by Ezekiel; "Gomer and all his bands." With the Tartars likewise, Gomari is reckoned one of the sons of Japhet, and is also called KAIMAK, and held to be the ancestor of the *Kaimakians*; that is, the *Kalmucs*<sup>3</sup>.

The Orientals have JAJUJE and MAJUJE, for our Gog and Magog: and there can be no doubt but that the *g's* should be sounded soft in those words. The Arabian geographers place these descendants of JAPHET in the remotest known parts of Asia, *northward*: and beyond the Turks and Kalmucs<sup>4</sup>. There existed, in the north-west part of Asia, and no doubt still exists, a *rampart* or *mound*, with gates and towers, named by the eastern writers, from Jajuje and Majuje; and referred, though erroneously, to

<sup>2</sup> Some derive the *Cimmerians*, or rather *Kimmerians*, from GOMER.

<sup>3</sup> So called by Ib Al Wardi, and Edrisi, and explained by D'Herbelot.

<sup>4</sup> Ib Al Wardi; Edrisi, D'Herbelot.



Alexander <sup>5</sup>. Some may perhaps conclude, that the famous wall of China is intended, but this idea is completely done away by the authorities for its position, as will be made appear, during the inquiry concerning the nations, situated to the east of Scythia, in the next Section. It will only be necessary to state, in this place, that the country denominated from Jajuje and Majuje, by the Arabians, lay to the north, beyond those of the Turks and Kalmucs; and that it appears to have been bounded on the SW, by the great ridge of mountains, the continuation of *Altai*, which runs to the NW and north, through the Great Steppe; separating the northern and southern waters of Asia; and of which ridge, the mountains of *Ural* are a branch, projecting to the west. So that the country of Jajuje and Majuje, contained, in the ideas of the people of Arabia and Persia, in the early times of Mahomedanism, the *northern* part of the Great Steppe, and the course of the river *Irtish*. There are also notices (collected from the person sent by the Caliph Wathek in the ninth century, to view the rampart <sup>6</sup>), which serve to

<sup>5</sup> This error may have arisen from the report of Alexander's having fortified the pass of Derbend, at the Caspian; and which, perhaps, was done by his lieutenants in Media, who might find such a barrier necessary to keep out the northern hordes. Not that we suppose the Macedonians were the first who fortified it: they probably did no more than render complete, by a well constructed line, what others before them had done imperfectly. All the works of Alexander bore the stamp of *grandeur*, combined with *utility*.

<sup>6</sup> Edrisi, Climate VI. Part 9th: and D'Herbelot, article Jagiougé.

shew that the people in question, possessed at an *earlier* period that part of the Steppe also, towards the Caspian and Aral: and it may thence be inferred that, in *more* early times, they were extended over other parts of the Steppe; that the Arabs applied to the Nomades, generally, the name of Jajuje and Majuje (or Gog and Magog); and that Ezekiel was adapting his language to those ideas.

The rampart above-mentioned seems to have been about midway between Samarkand and Tobolsk; and may have been either the inclosure of a deserted city, for it had gates; or was made for the purpose of defending the passes of the mountains<sup>7</sup>.

Herodotus informs us, Melpom. 98, that Darius expected to return to the bridge on the Danube in 60 days<sup>8</sup>: and it is possible he might have supposed that the Scythians would have been brought to terms, and the expedition completed within that time: but taking Scythia under the *limits* assigned by Herodotus himself; that is, between the Danube and Tanais; the extent is such as to require 60 days even for an army to *march through it*: and reckoning to the *embouchure* of the Tanais only, no less than 50. Indeed, had Scythia been confined within the supposed dimensions, that is, 4000 stadia; 53 days of *constant marching* would have sufficed, both

<sup>7</sup> M. D'Anville in the *Mém. Acad. Inscip.* Vol. xxxi. places it much more to the east, and near the lake of the Kalmucks. But his *general* idea agrees with ours.

<sup>8</sup> Darius delivered to the Ionians a cord with sixty knots on it, one of which they were to untie every day, and had liberty to depart when the knots were all loosened. Melp. 98, 99.

for the way out and home. But our author does not say that it was the *intention* of the Persian to traverse the *whole* country of Scythia; and it might have been a fact current amongst the Iönians, that a cord with 60 knots on it had been delivered to them by Darius: and equally a fact, that he expected to return within that time.

The circuit taken by Darius cannot well be estimated at less than a march of 150 days, or five months: and had he barely gone to the mouth of the Tanais, and back again, we have seen that 100 days were required, although no *halts* are allowed for; and which could not be dispensed with. Therefore, when it is stated that the 60 days were *not expired*, after the Persians had passed the borders of the Agathyrsi, on their *return*; Melp. 132; and had *not long expired* when Darius came to the bridge, 136; this must surely be an error, although he might have *expected* to return about that time.

It is said, Melp. 87, that “in this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to 70,000 men<sup>9</sup>, independent of his fleet, which consisted of 600 ships. The Iönians and Æolians, as a part of his new subjects, together with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet to assist in this expedition; 89; and a bridge had previously

<sup>9</sup> We are aware that some copies have 700,000; and Justin says the same, lib. ii. c. 5. The first number is certainly moderate for a regal Persian army, but the nature of the country in which the war was made must be considered.

been ordered to be thrown across the *Thracian Bosphorus*; 83<sup>1</sup>."

The difficulty of supplying such an army with provisions in an enemy's country, and that country not generally an agricultural one, is but too obvious to practical people; although the numbers were so small, in comparison with those with which Xerxes invaded Greece. We must therefore conceive, that the principal intention of collecting so large a fleet, was to secure a supply of provisions, whilst the army might remain in the neighbourhood of the Euxine and Mæotis; and which, no doubt, might have been accomplished, so long as the army could preserve a communication with the coast. The Greek colonists along the Euxine were probably compelled to assist in this department; to which it may be supposed their habits of life rendered them more competent than the Persians themselves.

Another use of the fleet, was obviously to waft the army and its equipage across the wide rivers of Thrace and Scythia; which may even be collected from the history of the bridge over the Danube. And although this latter was left standing, as has been before related, by which the Persians must, of course, have lost the immediate use of the vessels that composed it, yet these unquestionably were of the smaller kind, as may be inferred from the number used on a subsequent occasion by Xerxes. Nor could they have been *very* numerous either. Perhaps  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the whole number might have sufficed.

<sup>1</sup> The fleet of Xerxes, employed in the invasion of Greece, consisted of 3000 ships.

It seems to be clear, by Melpom. 89, that only a *detachment* of the fleet was sent to the Danube : and that it was sent whilst the bridge over the Bosphorus yet remained. In effect, no other intention can well be supposed, in assembling *so large* a fleet, but the supply of the army in the enemy's country ; nor would the purpose have been defeated, by the proportion of vessels left in the Danube.

As the bridges thrown across the *Bosphorus* and *Hellespont*, by DARIUS HYSTASPES and his son and successor XERXES, have been very much the subject of history and conversation, we shall mention some circumstances relating to them in this place.

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*Concerning the Bridges thrown across the Bosphorus and Hellespont, by Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes.*

These bridges, as being intended to serve the purposes of different expeditions, were placed in situations widely distant from each other : that of Darius, which was for the purpose of transporting his army into Scythia, through Thrace, by the *right*, was laid across the *Bosphorus*, now called the *Canal of Constantinople* ; whilst that of Xerxes, which was to pass his army into Greece, through the same country of Thrace, by the *left*, was thrown across the *Hellespont*, now the passage of the *Dardanelles*<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>2</sup> This name was derived from the neighbouring city of *Dardanus*, which Herodotus says was very near to Abydos. Polym. 43.

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bridges therefore were about 150 miles asunder, and the sea of Marmora (or the Propontis) lay between them: but notwithstanding the positions of the bridges, the roads taken by these different princes through Thrace must have approached within about half that distance of each other: and had it been a matter of indifference to Xerxes, whether he took the right or the left hand road, through Asia Minor, it would have been a measure of greater security, as well as of facility, to have laid his bridge over the Bosphorus, the *narrowest* and *least exposed* of the two straits, than over the Hellespont; since he was determined, at all events, to pass into Europe over a bridge. See the Map, No. IV. opposite.

But these works appear to partake infinitely more of vain-glory than of use: like that of cutting through the Isthmus of Mount Athos, instead of drawing the vessels across (if they were dubious of being able to sail round it); which is remarked by our author, in Polym. 24.

Alexander was by no means emulous of the fame of Darius, or of Xerxes, in this point: being content with transporting his army across the Hellespont, in vessels navigated in the usual way. And it must appear to every person, that in a strait, narrow enough to admit of a bridge, vessels might be drawn across with ropes, so as to land an army in a mode almost equally effectual, with that afforded by a bridge: and, considered in respect of delay and expence, on much easier terms, than would be required to place the vessels in a permanent form.

If there could be found a reason to justify the pro-



ject of a bridge, it would have been that of *expected resistance*; which might make it necessary to pour great numbers at once on the opposite shore: but circumstances were so totally different, that, whilst Xerxes transported, over a bridge, an army, whose numbers are reported too great to admit of belief, into a country where there were none on the spot to oppose it; Alexander, on the contrary, transported a comparatively small army, in vessels, into a hostile country, where incredible numbers were prepared to oppose him. In every point of view, then, these magnificent plans occasioned a waste of labour; and of wealth, the means of war; only to accomplish an ordinary purpose, in such a way as to strike the vulgar in all ages with astonishment. For ALEXANDER, and after him the OTTOMANS, crossed these straits with less parade, but with infinitely more effect, than the Persians.

Herodotus, after describing the Bosphorus of Thrace, (as well as the Propontis, Hellespont, and Euxine; Melpom. 85, *et seq.*) says, that it is about 120 stadia in length, and four wide at the entrance (into the Euxine<sup>3</sup>). He also says, 87, "I conjecture that the bridge was placed nearly midway between Byzantium and the temple, at the entrance of the Euxine." And although he seems to speak, in 85, as if the bridge had been at Chalcedon, yet it must only be taken for a loose and general way of speaking; Chalcedon being the nearest town of note to

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5, says that the narrow part is five stadia in breadth: Pliny, iv. c. 12, says four stadia.

the bridge. "Darius (says he) marched from Susa to where the bridge had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chalcedon." Here he spoke *generally*; in the other case, *critically*. Besides, Chalcedon is situated *beyond* the opening of the Bosphorus into the Propontis; and has an expanse of water of more than double the breadth of the Bosphorus, between it and Constantinople <sup>4</sup>.

M. Tournefort thought the narrowest part of the canal was at the *old* castles; which appear to be about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the way from Constantinople towards the Euxine: but, he adds, that the canal is *very nearly* as narrow at a place within a mile and a half of the seraglio. Now, he guessed the narrowest part to be 800 paces in breadth: but whether he means *double* steps, that is, the return of the same foot, or *single* steps, is not told: it is certain that the latter alone can be inferred, from the circumstances of the case <sup>5</sup>.

Mr. Gibbon, who may be supposed to have consulted many modern authorities, says 500 paces; which, being probably meant for those of five feet, according to his usual mode of reckoning, give 2,500 feet <sup>6</sup>. And as we take the four stades of Herodotus at about 500 feet each, giving an aggregate of about 2,000, the difference between these two accounts is not very great. Many persons may be sur-

<sup>4</sup> For the particular geography of the two straits, and the positions of the bridges, the reader is referred to the opposite Map.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. Letter 8. It is obvious that 800 paces of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet will agree generally with the reports of Pliny and Herodotus.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. iii. p. 6.

prised at finding such differences amongst well informed men ; but the truth is, that *guesses* concerning the breadth of rivers and straits are so exceedingly vague, that it is difficult to determine what authority to adopt. In the present case, it seems that we may adopt the four stades of our author, and fix the place of the bridge at the old castles.

By the descriptions of the *Bosphorus*, it would appear, on the whole, laying out of the question the magnificent scenery on the side towards Constantinople, that it is not ill represented by our *Menai*, the beautiful arm of the sea that separates Anglesea from the main island <sup>7</sup>.

Concerning the mode of constructing the bridge over this canal, there are no particulars : but as our historian has given a very particular account of that thrown over the Hellespont, not many years afterwards, the reader may easily form an idea, how the other was made ; having regard only to this circumstance, that the Hellespont was so much wider and more exposed, particularly to the wind termed Hellespontian <sup>8</sup>, than the other, that greater precautions were necessary to its preservation : and it may be, that the vessels were placed much nearer to each other.

There seems to be no question, that the *bridge* of Xerxes, or rather *bridges*, (for there were *two*.)

<sup>7</sup> This strait appeared to the Author's judgment, from crossing it, as well as from viewing it from both sides, to be about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile broad at *Bangor* ferry, the narrowest part that he saw.

<sup>8</sup> That is, a strong *easterly* wind, (Polym. 188,) or what the seamen call in modern times, a *Levanter*.

over the Hellespont, were placed at the narrowest part of the strait, fourteen or fifteen miles above the entrance, from the Egean sea; and at no great distance to the northward of the *old* castles of the *Dardanelles*; (as they are called, in contradistinction to the *new* castles, at the entrance<sup>9</sup>.) At this part of the strait stood the city of *Sestos*, on the European side; *Abydos* on that of Asia: but not opposite to each other, because the distance between them was thirty stadia, Strabo, p. 591; and the strait itself not above a mile wide, at the utmost.

It seems to be allowed, that the site of *Sestos* is marked by the ruins of *Zemenic*, the first town taken by the Turks when they passed over into Europe, under Orkhan, about 1356. (D'Anville Geog. Ancienne, Vol. i. 289; and Tournefort, Vol. ii. letter 4<sup>1</sup>.) *Abydos* is also marked by other ruins, not far from the point of *Nagara*; Geog. Anc. ii. 13. Again, *Maita*, situated on the European side, at a few miles from *Zemenic*, towards the entrance of the *Dardanelles*, and beyond *Abydos*, appears to be the *Madytis* of Herodotus; Polym. 33; where he says that the coast of the Thracian Chersonesus is rough and woody in that part.

The narrowest part of the passage appears to be nearest to, though by no means *at*, the ruins taken

<sup>9</sup> The new castles, at the entrance from the Archipelago, are more than four miles asunder. Tournefort.

<sup>1</sup> *Zemenic*, in a very useful Map of the Propontis, and the two Straits, published by Mr. Faden, in 1786, is placed about five miles above *Sestos*, and at the wide part of the Hellespont. We know not the authority for its position.

for those of Abydos: but our author speaks as if one end of the bridge or bridges, had actually been placed there; for he says, Polym. 34, that the strait is seven stadia in breadth, at Abydos; and in Melpom. 85, he assigns this breadth to the narrowest part of the strait. Strabo places the bridges where they no doubt stood, *between* the two cities of Sestos and Abydos; but not adjoining to either; page 591. And we conclude, that they extended from different parts of the point, or rather *promontory*, of Nagara, to the nearest part of the opposite shore. This part is spoken of, by the ancient authors, (Polybius in particular,) as the ordinary pass over the Hellespont: and it seems to have been equally in use in modern times, by what is said above, concerning the invasion of Europe by the Ottomans.

The ancients agree, almost universally, in representing the breadth of this strait to be seven stadia, at the narrowest part. Herodotus says so, in Melp. 85, and repeats it, Polym. 34. Strabo also, in p. 591: Pliny, in lib. iv. c. 12; and in vi. 1, he gives 875 paces, which are equal to seven *Roman* stades, or  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a mile. Polybius, lib. xvi. c. 7, allows only *two* stadia; but it may be suspected that the text is corrupted. Procopius, who had a good opportunity of viewing it, is silent.

Of the modern authorities, M. Tournefort, Vol. ii. letter 4, without giving any positive notices, appears to allow it the breadth of a mile. Dr. Pococke only gives it, on the authority of the ancients, at seven stadia; which, however, implies that he *admitted* it: and as he seems to consider a stade, at all times,

as the eighth part of a mile, this differs but little from the other authorities. (He reckons the Hellespont twenty-six miles in length.)

But Mr. Gibbon allows no more than 500 paces; that is, the same as he allows to the Bosphorus. The ancients evidently meant to describe a *broader* strait *here* than at the Bosphorus of Thrace<sup>2</sup>.

It is remarkable that the above celebrated author should have adopted this idea of the breadth of the strait, against the statements of the most celebrated of the ancient geographers, and which are not contradicted by the moderns in general; and it is also remarkable, that he should censure M. D'Anville (perhaps in some instances justly,) for being "too fond of *imaginary* measures, for the purpose of rendering ancient writers *as accurate as himself*;" (Vol. iii. page 9,) whilst, at the same time, he has in fact adopted the scale of M. D'Anville's stade, on this very occasion. This great geographer had an idea that the ancients had a stade of 51 toises, or about 330 English feet, (Mes. Itin. p. 69, *et seq.*) and which he has applied to the dimensions of Babylon, &c. It is obvious that seven such stadia are equal to about 500 paces, or half a Roman mile, which is the breadth allowed by Mr. Gibbon.

<sup>2</sup> If the term *Bosphorus* has been properly applied to the canal of Constantinople, as the measure of distance which an ox may with facility swim, it cannot have been well applied to the *Cimmerian* strait, which is not only wider than the Dardanelles, but is even three English miles broad, at the place where the lands approach nearest to each other, at *Jenikale*; and about one and a half where straitened by the chain of islands, opposite to the battery near *Kertsch*.

If the number of vessels used in the construction of the bridges could be depended on, one must suppose the narrow part of the strait to be about an English mile in breadth, which goes but little beyond Poccoke's idea, and agrees with that of Tournefort: but goes beyond that of Herodotus, even if he intended a stade of 600 Grecian feet, by more than 1,000 feet.

It is not likely that ever we shall have a true statement of the breadth of this strait, since any attempt to ascertain it by measurement, would subject the operator (who must necessarily be an European) to great hazard: and the guesses of people, as we have said before, are too vague to be depended on; especially as no opportunity offers, (that we know of,) of traversing it from side to side<sup>3</sup>.

The description of the famous bridge of Xerxes is given in a note from our Author; but how circumstantially soever given, it is by no means clear<sup>4</sup>. *Two*

<sup>3</sup> One of the best opportunities that has ever occurred seems to have been neglected. Baron Tott, himself an engineer, and entrusted by the Turks with the examination of the defences of the Dardanelles, by which he ought to have been possessed of the certain means of determining the question, says, that the narrow part of the strait is 300 or 400 toises broad. How inaccurate for an engineer! The highest evaluation of this distance is less than half a mile.

Since the above was written a RUSSIAN squadron has passed the Dardanelles!

<sup>4</sup> "They connected together ships of different kinds, some *long* vessels of fifty oars, others three-banked gallies, to the number of 360 on the side towards the Euxine sea, and 313 on that of the Hellespont. The former of these were placed trans-

*distinct bridges*, each consisting of a line of ships, are intended by the description : for one is said to be towards the Euxine, the other towards the Hellespont, or Ægean sea. They were, moreover, applied to different uses ; the first being for the army in general, the other for the followers, and beasts of burthen ; Polym. 55. Thus far is clear ; as well as the mode of completing the *ways* over the vessels on which they rested ; but the *disposition* of the vessels in *one* of the lines is ambiguous, because an idea is given that the vessels in it were placed *length-wise across* the strait ; whilst those in the *other* line

versely, but the latter, to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current.—When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length ; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine ; on the lower, towards the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds. They left, however, openings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail into the Euxine, or from it : having performed this, they extended cables from the shore, stretching them upon large capstans of wood ; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge ; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters ; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burthen might not be terrified by looking down on the sea." Polym. 36.



were placed *side by side*, or with their length *parallel* to the strait. The latter appears perfectly rational; the other highly improbable; because a strong current prevails for the most part, the water flowing out of the Euxine into the *Propontis* and *Mediterranean*; and more particularly when northerly winds prevail; so that it would be difficult to keep ships in their stations when presenting their broadsides to the wind and current<sup>5</sup>. Besides, it requires little argument to prove that this arrangement would have been the most inconvenient possible for a bridge, could it have been rendered permanent.

Some other meaning, therefore, must be sought for, not only from the improbability of so flagrant a departure from the dictates of common sense and experience, but because that the numbers in the two lines differ no more than a 7th or 8th part. Now, it is well known, that even the ships of this time are about *four* times as long as they are broad in their upper works: and there is reason to believe, from

<sup>5</sup> This current, as we have seen, Polymnia, c. 36, is spoken of in very general terms by Herodotus. It is also mentioned by travellers; and its effect, in preventing ships from entering the Dardanelles from the south, when a contrary wind prevails, is familiarly known to seamen. M. Tournefort thus speaks of it:

“The waters that pass through this canal, from out of the *Propontis*, are as rapid as if they flowed beneath a bridge: when the north wind blows, no ship can enter; but when it is from the south, you hardly perceive any current.” Vol. ii. lett. 4.

The current in the canal of Constantinople (*Bosphorus*) is still stronger, as the stream formed of the surplus waters of the Euxine is more confined there than in the Hellespont. Ibid. letter 8.

the dimensions of some ancient ships, left on record, that these were at least *five*, if not *five and a half*, times as long as they were broad. We shall here detain the reader a moment, in order to explain our ideas respecting certain properties of the ancient ships, which apply more particularly to the present argument.

It has been said that the ancient ships (of the Greeks, &c.) were very much *longer* in proportion to their breadth, than the modern ones. We would here be understood to mean the *ships of war*, which from their proportions were styled LONG ships, in contradistinction to the merchant ships, whose swelling forms, which were better adapted to stowage, gave occasion to their being called ROUND ships. It may be conceived that these were of much the same proportional dimensions with ours, in respect of length and breadth, but had bottoms nearly flat.

But the fighting ships required a degree of velocity at the moment of attack : and, as the mode of warfare might require it to be exerted in any line of direction, perhaps opposite to that of the wind, nothing could accomplish this velocity but the application of oars. It therefore became necessary to increase the length of the ship, to the utmost bounds of safety, in order to gain room for such a number of oars, as were required to put so great a body in motion. And hence, doubtless, the origin of the *long* ship, whose dimensions appeared so singular as to call for the term, which was with so much propriety applied to it. The proportional dimensions would also have the effect of enabling them to divide the

fluid, with greater ease, in proportion to the impulse of the oars ; or of the sails, when sailing before the wind : but it may be observed, by the representations of ancient ships, (and which appear to be generally ships of war,) that they spread an exceeding small proportion of sail, which was doubtless owing to their want of breadth. This defect, together with the flatness of the bottom, rendered them unfit to ply to windward ; so that when they wanted to proceed in that line of direction, the oars were the only means of accomplishing it. When sailing before the wind the flatness had its advantages.

It may be conceived that no ships, at any period of the world's age, were able to spread so much canvas <sup>6</sup> in proportion to their *length*, as at present : a proof that the ancients were very far behind in naval science. The invention of artillery has certainly increased the *dimensions* of ships of war ; but the pro-

<sup>6</sup> It may justly be suspected that our ships are very much over-masted : as a proof of it, ships with *jury* masts sail as well under ordinary circumstances as with what are termed *proper* masts. In light winds, it is certain that too much canvas cannot be spread : but, in this stage of improvement, cannot temporary sails be invented, so as, in *some measure*, to compensate the defect ? The savings, in point of stores, would be immense ; in the wear of ships, incalculable !

It is well known, that on *emergencies*, when the wind is light, boats may be used for towing : and the velocity communicated by the oars of the boats of a ship of war, will *far* overbalance the loss occasioned by sails of reduced dimensions.

Vitruvius has said, that it is better to have a house too *small* for a *day* than too *big* for a *year* : is not this saying in some measure applicable to the present subject ?

gress of *improvement* has even far outstripped the increase of bulk.

It would be unnecessary to insist any farther on the flatness of those vessels. But it may be remarked, that the *long* ships of Nearchus, built by Alexander in the Panjab, descended the Indus, and its adjacent rivers, in which there must have been a great many shallow places. They also entered *tide* harbours on the coast of Persia, in which there is no great depth of water. And moreover, both these, and the ships of Xerxes, were frequently *drawn ashore*; which circumstance proves at once the flatness of their bottoms, and their confined dimensions.

There is a passage in Polybius (lib. iv. c. 5.) which implies, that the large ships of his time (some of which carried 420 men), drew about 15 feet of water only. We now return to our proper subject.

Since the Hellespont, in the neighbourhood of Abydos, has a very considerable bend in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the *eastward*; may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the *angle* just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their *heads* to the Euxine, the other their *sides*, although the heads of both were presented to the current? The different numbers in the two lines certainly indicate *different breadths* of the strait, and which can only be accounted for, by their being at some distance from

each other : for it cannot be supposed that the line was placed obliquely across the strait.

The cables extended from each shore, appear to have been for the sole purpose of supporting the *bridge-ways*. The ships were kept in their places by anchors ahead and astern ; by the lateral pressure of each other, and by side fastenings.

It remains that something should be said concerning the space occupied by the ships, according to the numbers given in the text ; and its supposed proportion to the breadth of the strait.

The numbers given are 360 in one line, 313, or 314, in the other. Let it be admitted that the difference arises *chiefly* from the different breadths of the strait, which might be many hundred feet wider at one bridge than at the other. But if it was no wider at the narrowest part than 7 stadia, say 3,500 feet, the vessels ought not to have been broader than 11 feet ; in other words, the dimensions of a barge : and it appears that the bridge was evidently composed of vessels of a larger class than that, although it may be difficult to fix the determinate size of them.

In Polym. 21, it is said that “ long ships were *prepared* to serve as *bridges* ;” which implies that they were of a different kind from the *other* ships, mentioned in the same article ; which were *ships of war*, (implied to be *very large*, and of which there were a great number in the fleet) ; *transports* for cavalry and troops, and *provision* vessels. Now, in Polym. 184, there is a class of vessels of 50 oars,

manned with 80 men only, and which were the smallest class of *fighting* ships; the largest having crews of 230<sup>7</sup>. These then, we must suppose to have been chiefly used in the construction of the bridges: for it is expressly said, Polym. 36, that those of 50 oars were made use of: and it is evident, that if the crews consisted of no more than 80, the oars in general must have been managed single-handed. And it may be inferred, that a vessel moved by this power, could not have been of very great dimensions. Moreover, the ancients crowded their crews into a very small space; as is shewn by the small depth of water required to float the ships of Nearchus; so that, taking all circumstances into consideration, it may be concluded, that these vessels were of no greater dimensions than 80 to 100 tons: that they were very *narrow*, in proportion to their length; and might not be more than 15 to 16 feet broad.

We are aware that *three-banked* galleys were also used in the bridge: but as the *others* are expressly said to be intended for the purpose of bridges, it may be supposed that only a few large ships were used;

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps, to bring the matter nearer to our own ideas, the ships, with crews of 230, may be regarded as *line of battle*; those of 80, as *frigates* and *sloops of war*. But the Romans and Carthaginians, in the great contest for naval dominion, had crews of 420, of which 120 were soldiers, or *marines*.

It appears from Polym. 97, that a great proportion of the fleet of Xerxes, which consisted altogether of 3,000 vessels, were of 30 and 50 oars: and that the fighting ships of this fleet were in number about 1200. Polym. 184.

and that, to accomplish a purpose, which cannot, at this distance of time, be understood : for it appears evident, that the former size of vessels was fully equal to the superincumbent weight of the bridge-ways, and as many men, horses, or carriages, as could stand on them at a time ; exclusive of the necessary quantity of ballast to keep them steady : and therefore a larger kind was not required<sup>8</sup>. The Hellespont has not an expanse of water sufficient to admit of any very great agitation from the winds, and in particular from the southern quarter, where alone, from its blowing in opposition to the current, a dangerous wave might have been raised, had the conformation of the strait been different<sup>9</sup>.

It is certain that 313 vessels of 15 to 16 feet in breadth would occupy a space equal to about 4,850 feet, or about 400 feet short of an English mile. And if there was any proportion of *large* vessels

<sup>8</sup> When boats or pontoons are placed close together, as happened *here*, those of a very moderate size will suffice, in respect of any weight that could be required to be laid on them. Witness the ordinary *pontoons* used in war, and in bridges of communication. Coal barges are equal to any purpose of this kind, where there is no great agitation of the water, although placed at some distance apart. It may be urged that, in the present case, the situation required close, or decked vessels ; and it is certain that something must be allowed on this score, where the breadth was a mile, or thereabouts, and at times a current ; but we are of opinion, notwithstanding, that vessels of the size of the smallest *coasting craft*, were adequate to such a purpose.

<sup>9</sup> If the direction of the wind had been mentioned, one might have guessed the position of Xerxes's first bridge, which was destroyed by a tempest.

amongst them, the required space would probably be increased to a full mile. Therefore, at all events, it must be allowed, that there is no great difference between the *calculation* of the space occupied by the vessels, taken on a reasonable footing, and the *allowed* breadth of the strait, by those who have *seen* it; which appears to be from  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a mile, to a mile: for whatsoever the length of the stadium of Herodotus may have been, Dr. Pockocke certainly meant by his stade, the eighth of a mile. And thus we close our speculations on this project, which may be classed with many other of the follies, wrought by those, who having at their disposal the labour of myriads, employed it to a useless purpose.

It may well be supposed that the success of Darius Hystaspes, in making his bridge over the Bosphorus, encouraged his son Xerxes to try a like experiment on the Hellespont; where the greater breadth of the sea, and the exposure of the situation, rendered it a more difficult task.

Of the bridge of Darius across the Danube no description is given. It is probable that it could not have been of less extent than that at the Bosphorus; but from the regular and constant stream of the river, the vessels could with more ease be kept in their stations, than in a place where the current would often be so slack, as to allow the force of the wind to preponderate.



## SECTION VII.

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OF THE COUNTRIES SITUATED BEYOND THE EUXINE SCYTHIA, TO THE EASTWARD AND NORTH-EASTWARD.

*Nations, or Tribes, situated beyond Scythia—Iyræ or Turcæ—Seceding Royal Scythians—Argippæi—Issedones, Arimaspians, and Gryphins—The Issedones answer to the Oigurs, Yugures, or Eluths—Error of Herodotus in placing the Issedones opposite to the Massagetæ—Aral Lake mistaken for a part of the Caspian Sea—Argippæi and Arimaspi placed: the former at the mountains of the Great Steppe; the latter at the Altaian, or Golden Mountains—The Gold of the Arimaspi derived from the province of Kolyvan, bordering on Altai—Seceding Scythians supposed to have inhabited the Desht Kipzak, and part of the Great Steppe—Turcæ, or Iyræ, taken for the Torgauti—Riphæan Mountains—Altaian Mountains, the extreme boundary of the knowledge of Herodotus, eastward.—Particulars respecting the Argippæi and Issedones: the former celebrated for their probity; the latter a polished people—Arimaspian Verses—Herodotus in doubt concerning the Northern and Eastern Boundary of Europe; and silent concerning the Southern Boundary—Northern Ocean—Hyperboreans—Country and Rampart of Gog and Magog—An imputed error of Herodotus done away—Hyperboreans send offerings to Delos.—Melancholy fate of Travellers, who perish in a foreign land, whilst in pursuit of knowledge—Communication between individuals of distant nations, to be encouraged.—Apology for harmless Superstition in uninformed minds—General Observations.*

WE shall next endeavour to collect the ideas of Herodotus respecting the countries situated *beyond* the

Western, or Euxine Scythia; as also concerning the north part of Europe generally; and the tract which, from its relative situation, was named the country of the HYPERBOREANS. It must be recollected that, according to *his* system, *all* of the above tracts were included in EUROPE; since the Colchian Phasis, and the country of the Massagetæ, were by him regarded as the northern frontiers of ASIA.

It has been suggested, that Herodotus derived his knowledge of Scythia, in a great measure, from the history of the Expedition of Darius, which must then have been fresh in the memories of the Greeks settled on the borders of the Euxine. And when it is farther remarked, that the *Thyssagetæ* are the last people, whose country is particularly described, and placed; that opinion receives additional strength: for the *Thyssagetæ* were situated at the extreme boundary of his expedition, eastward.

Beyond the *Thyssagetæ* (EASTWARD; for so it must be understood by the context: for immediately afterwards our Author, speaking of the *Royal Scythians* who had *seceded* from the others, says, “advancing from *this* people *still nearer* to the east,”) were the IYRCÆ, who, like the *Thyssagetæ*, lived by the chase. Melpom. 22<sup>1</sup>.

The Royal Scythians, who had seceded from those at the Euxine, established themselves, as we have just seen, on the *east* of the *Iyrœ*; but no particulars concerning them are given.

<sup>1</sup> The reader is referred to the Maps Nos. II. and V. for an explanation of the actual geography of this quarter: and to No. I. for our Author's ideas of the relative positions.

“ Thus far,” continues our Author, Melp. 23, “ the whole country is *flat*, and the soil *excellent* ; but beyond *these* Scythians, it becomes *barren* and *stony*. After travelling over a considerable space, a people are found living at the foot of some *lofty mountains*—these are called ARGIPPÆI.” He farther observes, Melp. 24, that, “ as far as the Argippæi, the knowledge of the country is clear and satisfactory, and may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them : from the Greeks of the port on the Borysthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians, who communicate with them, have occasion for as many interpreters.”

“ Beyond the Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had ; a chain of *lofty* and *inaccessible* mountains precluding all discovery.—To the *east* of the *Argippæi*, it is beyond all doubt that the country is possessed by the ISSEDONES ; but beyond them, to the *north*, neither the Issedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more than I have already related ;” Melpom. 25. “ The Issedones themselves affirm, that the country *beyond* them, (we conclude that to the *eastward* is meant) is inhabited by a race of men who have but *one* eye ; and by GRYPHINS, who are guardians of the gold.—Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Issedones, and we from the Scythians : in the Scythian tongue they are called ARIMASPIANS, from *Arima*, the Scythian word for *one* ; and *spu*, an *eye*.” Melpom. 27.

Thus we collect the extent of the knowledge of

Herodotus, eastward, in the parallel of Western Scythia; but as we have no scale of distance by which to regulate either the positions of the several intermediate nations, or of the most remote one, all is left to conjecture, in our Author. Others, however, throw some light on the position of the country of the Issedones; and Ptolemy, in particular. His knowledge of the detail of the eastern geography was extensive in this quarter. By him the Issedones are so placed as to answer to the OIGURS, or YUGURES, who inhabit the proper seat of the Kalmucs; bordering immediately on the north-east of *Casia*, which latter is easily recognized in the country of *Kashgur*. (See Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, section III.) The *Æchardæ* of this author, which name designs a nation or people in the region of SERICA<sup>2</sup>, and between the Issedones of Scythia and those of Serica, has a near affinity in sound to *Oigur*, and strengthens the supposition.

It is certain that the space between the seats of the Thyssagetæ, and of the Issedones, appears on the map to be much too large to have been occupied by the *three* nations alone, described by Herodotus; it being about 1200 G. miles. But accuracy is not to be expected in this case; and it may be that some tribes are omitted. It must not, however, be forgotten, that they were pastoral tribes, and required a great deal of room.

Herodotus himself supposed, that the *Issedones*

<sup>2</sup> The country from whence the Romans had their *silk*; and the silk its *name*. See Ptolemy's Asia, Tab. vii. and viii.

were situated *opposite* to the *Massagetæ*, who were at the east of the Caspian Sea, or rather Aral<sup>3</sup>; but the Issedones were, as will appear, very much farther to the east. Again, Pliny supposed both *them* and the *Arimaspians* to be at no great distance from the Mæotis and Tanais, lib. iv. c. 12: but probably neither of these authors had any rule for placing them: and it is to be remarked of Pliny, that his geography carries every thing too far to the *west* in this quarter<sup>4</sup>.

Herodotus thus expresses himself respecting the Issedones and Massagetæ; Clio, 201.

“The Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river *Araxes* (meaning the *Jaxartes*), to the extreme parts of the east,—are OPPOSITE to the Issedones; and are by some esteemed a Scythian nation.” And, in 204, he says, that “the Massagetæ inhabit a considerable part of a vast plain, which bounds the Caspian (or rather Aral), on the east.” So that we fix the Massagetæ in the great plain occupied by the Middle *Horde* of the KIRGEES, adjacent to the river *Sirr*, or rather *Sirt*, which is the *Jaxartes*. Our Author, as has been said, supposed the Issedones to be situated OPPOSITE to the Massagetæ, which, by the context,

<sup>3</sup> In all the works of the *European* geographers, as well ancient as modern, to the present century, the ARAL sea must be understood to be *included* in the CASPIAN: since they knew but of *one* expanse of water, in that quarter; for the *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, were all supposed to fall into the same sea. The Arabian and Persian geographers, on the contrary, discriminated them from the earliest times.

<sup>4</sup> More will be said on this subject in the sequel.

can only be understood to the NORTH, or under the same meridian : for, in tracing the chain of tribes, or nations, from the Tanais to the Issedones, he evidently proceeds *eastward*, and speaks of the plain of the Massagetæ, as a position, *opposite* to some point in that chain. Moreover, in tracing this chain, he keeps wide to the north of the Caspian, and concludes with saying, that nothing is *certainly known beyond the Issedones*. Now, having said that the Massagetæ extended *eastward, indefinitely*, from the borders of the Caspian, and the banks of the Jaxartes, they could not be situated to the *east* of the Issedones, beyond whom, he had just said, *nothing certain* was known. The inference clearly is, that, by *opposite*, was meant in the same meridian : and that, in his idea, the Massagetæ lay to the SOUTH, along the Aral and Jaxartes ; the Issedones to the NORTH, and about the parallel of the Thyssagetæ : and by the obvious result of the statement of his geography of Scythia (page 66, *et seq.*) the mouth of the Tanais must, in the idea of Herodotus, have been as high as the parallel of  $50^{\circ}$ , and the Thyssagetæ in  $53^{\circ}$  at least.

His chain of positions, therefore, may be regarded as extending in an east direction, from the Thyssagetæ to the Issedones ; so that these latter could not (in his idea) be lower than  $53^{\circ}$ . But the Massagetæ, who are said to occupy the same parallel with the Caspian, must have been several degrees to the south of the Issedones. For the Caspian is described in Clio, 203, to have Mount *Caucasus* on the *west* : and therefore the parallel passing through the centre

of that sea, may be taken for the same as that of Colchis : that is, 42 to 43°. Again, according to the dimensions of the same sea, in 203, it ought not to extend northward, beyond 47° : and the Massagetæ, who are stated to be on the *east side*, must consequently have been *below* 47°. Such was the idea of our Author ; to explain which, is the object in view : but the *truth* is, that the Issedones lay almost directly *east* from the Massagetæ ; and, at a still greater distance from them, than was supposed to intervene.

Thus we ascertain a geographical position in the *supposed* extension of Europe eastwards, by Herodotus, in that of the ISSEDONES ; who may be regarded as the ancestors of the people now denominated OIGURS or YUGURES, by the *Tartars* ; ELUTS, or ELUTHS, by the *Chinese*. (They have also a variety of other names ; see Mr. Tooke's *Russia*, Vol. iv.) Much more will be said of them in the sequel. They are a tribe of KALMUCS ; we believe the principal one amongst them : and possess the original and proper seat of the Kalmucs ; subject however to the Emperor of China. And thus the error in distance made by Herodotus, may be appreciated ; and may be reckoned at about 500 G. miles : the Issedones being so much farther to the east, than he supposed.

According to this arrangement, the *Arimaspians*, the most remote nation, eastward, known to Herodotus, may be supposed to be situated in the same meridian with the source of the Indus. We shall now inquire, how far any of the nations above recited, besides the Issedones, are known in history ;

and also how far they can be placed in a geographical arrangement.

The ARGIPPÆI of our Author, whose position is *short* of the Issedones ; and the *Arimaspi*, who are situated next *beyond* them, shall first be considered.

The Argippæi, then, are said, Melpom. 23 and 25, to be situated at the foot of certain *lofty* mountains, which preclude all discovery ; (*northward* : for the Issedones are known to lie *beyond* them, to the *east* ; ) and the country is said to be *flat*, and the soil *good*, to *this point*, in coming from the westward ; but now becomes *barren* and *stony* : moreover, as we have seen, the Issedones begin on the *east* of the Argippæi.

We regard the Argippæi, then, as the people who inhabited the eastern part of the *Great Steppe* ; bordering *northward* on the great chain of mountains, that divides the Steppe from SE to NW, and which separates the northern from the southern waters, in that quarter. It is a marked feature in the geography ; and is described by the Arabian geographers to be remarkably lofty, steep, and difficult of access ; agreeing to the description in our Author<sup>5</sup>.

The Argippæi would also border, eastward, on the mountains that separate the Oigur country from the Steppe : or which perhaps, with more propriety, may be regarded as the western *declivity* of the ele-

<sup>5</sup> These mountains will be hereafter spoken of, as the southern (or SW) boundary of the country of *Jajuje* and *Majuje* (*Gog* and *Magog*), according to the Arabian geographers. They appear to be also the continuation, eastward, of the *Riphæan* mountains of Ptolemy.



vated region inhabited by the Kalmuc Eluths. A part of these mountains are named *Arga*, and *Argia*, in Strahlenberg, and the Map of Russia.

According to these suppositions, the Argippæi must have occupied the northern part of the tract, now in the possession of the *Greater* or *Eastern* Horde of the KIRGEES; who are dependant on China, as the Middle and Western Hordes are on Russia.

It is certain that in the above adjustment of the situation of the Argippæi, one striking circumstance in the description of our Author, is wanting; namely, the continuation of *flat* country, from the Thyssagetæ, to the situation in question. But, it should be recollected, that no particular accuracy can, in this case, be expected: and that the very great extent of the level Steppe, may be allowed to justify him in the supposition, that the face of the country was the same throughout.

The ARIMASPIANS, who are fabled to have had but *one eye* (Melpom. 13 and 27, and Thalia, 116), are said to take the gold violently from the GRYPHINS, who guarded it; and with which the country was said to abound. These Arimaspians, who are placed by our Author *beyond*, that is, to the *eastward* of, the Issedones, seem to have inhabited Mount *Altai* (which is to be regarded rather as a *region*, than a mere *ridge* of mountains), from whence the rivers of Irtysh and Oby flow; and which mountains are at no great distance beyond the *Oigurs*, whom we have just taken for the *Issedones*. It is possible, that the names of the tribes, in and about Mount Altai, may

have been such, as to approach nearly to *Arimaspia* and *Gryphin*; and the Greeks or Scythians may have given them the significations above related. Herodotus has given reason to suppose, *Melp.* 26, that the Issedones, as well as the Arimaspians, had plenty of gold amongst them: and the modern discoveries of the Russians prove, that the ancient people of this part of Tartary possessed much gold.

It has been shewn, page 142, that the ancient sepulchres towards the head of the Irtish contained much gold; as also that the gold mines of Kolyvan, and the *Altaian* mountains, are situated in that quarter. The latter are so named from *Alta*, a word which signifies *gold* in the Mongul and Kalmuc languages<sup>6</sup>: and there can be no doubt, but that the name has been given, from the quantity of gold found in the neighbourhood. The mountains of *Altai* appear both in the Map of Strahlenberg, and in the modern Map of Russia. In the former they are named *Altai*; in the latter, *Chaltai*, as well as *Altai*: and they either occupy a great extent of space, or different ranges of mountains are so named; a seeming proof, that the precious metal is diffused over a considerable extent of country, in this quarter: and from the courses of the waters around it, the region of Altai seems to contain some of the highest ground in the centre of Asia. Now, from all these circumstances, it appears probable, that the country of the Gryphins or Gryphons, which *abounded* with gold, was that of *Kolyvan*:

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Tooke in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 227.

and that the Arimaspians were the people of the region of Altai ; and who had the Oigurs or Issedones for neighbours, on the south. And thus we have endeavoured to reconcile this part of our Author's chain of positions, eastward.

There remain, then, to be considered, in the space between the Thyssagetæ, who are supposed by us to have been seated on the west side of the Wolga ; and the Argippæi, who are supposed to have occupied the eastern part of the Great *Steppe*, or seat of the *Eastern Kirgees* ; the tribes of *Iyrœ*, and the *Seceding Royal Scythians*. The space in reality, seems too vast for two tribes only : and the circumstance of there being only two tribes to be placed in his geography, may have led Herodotus, and after him Pliny, to place the Issedones as they have done, much too far to the west. But we cannot well doubt the position of the Thyssagetæ, any more than that of the Issedones ; and therefore may suspect, that the information of Herodotus was imperfect ; and that *other* tribes, not enumerated, were there, also. Certain it is, however, that the *Kirgees* tribes, *do* possess at present, the whole space between the *Jaik*<sup>7</sup>, and the former seats of the Issedones ; that

<sup>7</sup> The proper name of this river is *Diaek*, although it be more commonly called *Jaik*, or *Jack*. In the geography of Ptolemy, the *Daix* is the second river from the *Rha* (the Wolga) towards the *Jaxartes* ; (Sirr or Sirt) the *Rhymnicus* being next to the Wolga. But doubtless the *Daix* and *Rhymnicus* should change places ; for it cannot be supposed otherwise than that the *Daix* is intended for the *Diaek*. The *Rhymnicus* will then answer to the *Yemba* : and the mountains of that name to those of *Ural*.

is, two parts in THREE, of the space between the Thyssagetæ and the Issedones. But whether matters were, in this respect, the same *then* as *now*, we know not.

If the *Seceding Royal Scythians*, who lay to the east of the *Iyrœæ*, and between them and the *Argippæi*, can be supposed (as Herodotus says), to possess the *whole extent* of the plain country, eastward, their possessions would answer as nearly as possible to those of the *middle*, and *lesser* or (*western*) horde of KIRGEES; that is to say, the Desht Kipzak, and the western and greater part of the Steppe; but as no idea of the space, any more than of the power, possessed by these Scythians, is given, it would be useless to reason on the subject; especially as we have already spoken fully on the supposed connection between *these* and the Scythians of the *Mæotis*, in page 100, *et seq.*

It is probable that our Author might have had no idea of the extent of space that he had left, in the actual geography, to the three tribes of *Iyrœæ*, the *Seceding Scythians*, and *Argippæi*: and hence, doubtless, arose his error in supposing the Issedones to lie opposite to the Massagetæ; for he might perhaps have allowed to those three tribes, much the same space as to the three tribes on the west of them, between the Oarus (taken for the Wolga) and the Danube; and might have calculated that the space would reach as far eastward as the meridian of the *Jaxartes*: and on this ground, declare that the Issedones were *opposite* to, or in the same *meridian* with, the Massagetæ. If we are right, the

cause of his error seems to be satisfactorily explained.

Since Pliny differs so widely from our Author, in his statement of certain of these positions, whilst he agrees so well in others, we shall offer a word on this part of the subject.

After speaking of a number of tribes, who inhabited the tract beyond the Mæotis and Tanais, lib. vi. c. 7, he comes to the *Thyssagetæ* and *Turcæ* <sup>8</sup>; apparently the *Thyssagetæ* and *Iyræ* of our Author; which tribes he places next to the *deserts* and *hunting places*: and beyond them all, the *Arimphæi*, said to border on the *Riphæan* mountains. Now, the ancients appear to have applied the name *Riphæan* to different mountains, and perhaps to forests also. Ptolemy, Pliny, and Mela, placed a part of them at the head of the Tanais, where there seem to be no mountains, but vast forests only. The two latter place another part of the same chain at the head of the *Jaik*, admitting the *Arimphæi* to be there. But in fact, they do not seem to have had any clear ideas concerning them. The *Hyperborean* mountains of Ptolemy, beyond the Wolga, agree better to *our* idea of the *Riphæan*: for as the *Arimphæi* of Pliny and of Mela are said to border on these mountains, *eastward*; and on the *Turcæ westward*: and *these* again, westward on the *Thyssagetæ*; it should be, that the mountains at the head of the *Jaik* (now named *Ural*), are the *Riphæan*; since Orenburgh

<sup>8</sup> Pomponius Mela also, has the *Turcæ* near the *Thyssagetæ*, lib. i. c. 21.

answers to the country of the Arimphæi. And this part of the chain must necessarily be very much elevated and conspicuous ; since, from its neighbourhood, the *Tobol* flows into the North sea, the *Jaik* and *Yemba* into the Caspian. We conceive that, from this point, the mountains intended by Riphæan, passed to the *north*, between the waters of the *Oby*, *Kama*, *Dwina*, and *Peczora* : and to the ESE, through the *Steppe*, to a junction with the mountains of *Arga* on the one hand, and those of *Altai* on the other. How much of their course the ancients might know, or to what ramifications of them the name *Riphæan* might be applied, is a doubt. It may however be suspected, that the three different names *Riphæan*, *Arimphæan*, and *Rhymnican*, applied to mountains in this quarter, were all intended, either in whole, or in part, for the same, or branches of the same mountains<sup>9</sup>.

Taking, therefore, the Riphæan mountains (as far as they were known) for those which, in the first instance, *separate* on the north-east the waters of Asia from those of Europe ; and afterwards, the northern from the southern waters of Asia ; and which extend through the Great Steppe to Oigur ; in effect, the mountains of the Argippæi, before mentioned : we shall find the TURCÆ, in the TORGAUTI, or TORGOTS, a Kalmuc tribe situated between the Wolga and Jaik, in the government of Saratow : and the ARIMPHÆI, adjoining to, and beyond them,

<sup>9</sup> Can *Riphæan* have any relation to *Riphath*, or *Riphah*, who is the son of *Gomer*, and brother of *Togarmah* " of the north ;" (in Genesis, x. ver 3.) since we find *Magog* in the same quarter ?

in the province of Orenburgh, and government of Ufa.

Pliny is right in saying that the Turcæ bordered on the Desert (Steppe). Hérodotus says that the country of the *Iyrcaë* is woody; Melpom. 22: and Mela says the same of that of the *Turcæ*. The knowledge of Pliny, as to detail, appears to end at the Riphæan mountains.

The Torgots are spoken of, largely, by Mr. Tooke, Vol. i.; as a tribe of Kalmucs, seated *between* the above-mentioned rivers: and there, Strahlenberg also places the Torgauti.

We are aware that exceptions may be taken to this supposition; as the Kalmucs are said to have migrated westward in modern times: so that it may be reckoned idle to place the *Torgot* tribe of Kalmucs, at the Wolga, in the time of Herodotus. But it is possible that the *tract itself* may have given name to the tribes that have successively occupied it: and the reader may perhaps regard it as an example in point, that the *Begdelly* tribe actually inhabit that part of Mesopotamia which is called the Plain of *Bectileth*, in the book of Judith; ch. ii. ver. 21. The natural inference to be drawn is, that in both cases the tribes have taken their names from the tracts themselves. And may not *Torgot* itself be one reading of *Turk*, or *Tourk*?

In support of the above opinion we may also quote Mr. Tooke, (Vol. ii. p. 72,) who says of the tribes of the Nogayan Tartars, that “several of them have frequently changed their station in the vast deserts they inhabit, and *as often changed their name; one*

*while taking that of the river of the place they stop at, at another that of the leader who heads them, and again at other times, according to other circumstances."*

With respect to the positions occupied by the Issedones, Arimaspians, &c. no opinions can be more at variance than those of Herodotus and Pliny. It has been already remarked, that the latter confines his geography of this quarter within *very narrow* limits: for that he supposed even the Issedones and Arimaspians, the most remote of the nations spoken of by Herodotus, to be situated near the *Mæotis* and *Tanais*; lib. iv. c. 12: in which Mela, lib. ii. c. 1, agrees. But if Herodotus is to be regarded as faulty in excess, an error, however, that we do not admit, these authors have surely gone into the opposite extreme; and we cannot help suspecting that Mela, in particular, was led into this error by his ignorance of the distinction that ought to have been made between the Scythians of the *Euxine* and those of the *Caspian*; referring what concerned the neighbourhood of the *latter* to that of the *former*: and it is probable that Pliny may have made some mistakes of the same kind. If this opinion be founded, it will account for their ideas respecting the Issedones, &c.

Herodotus, as we have seen, extended them to the meridian of the Jaxartes, 25 degrees to the east of the *Mæotis*; and was still very far short of the truth: for their relative position is very clearly pointed out by Ptolemy, and is easily referred to modern geography. And hence, whatsoever errors there may



be in the intermediate positions, given by our Author, (if such there are) we ought to receive that of the Issedones as just; and to lay out of the question the systems of Pliny and Mela.

One particular is, however, very remarkable. The *Argippæi* of Herodotus, situated next the Issedones, answer in point of *description* to the *Arimphæi* of Pliny and of Mela, situated at Mount *Riphæus*, near the head of the Jaik. The description is remarkably pointed, and cannot be mistaken, as will appear presently.

Having shewn (as we trust) that the extreme boundary of the knowledge of our Author, eastward, was the mountainous region of Altai, at the head of the river Irtysh, we shall conclude this head of inquiry, and proceed to select some particulars respecting certain of the principal nations above mentioned; such as the *Argippæi*, *Issedones*, and *Arimaspians*.

1. The ARGIPPÆI, whom we have supposed to be the people near Mount *Arga*, and the mountains of the Steppe, are oddly spoken of by Herodotus, *Melp.* 23. "They are (says he) *bald* from their birth, having large chins and nostrils like the *ape* species. They have a language of their own, but their dress is Scythian; they live chiefly on the produce of a tree which is called *Ponticus*; it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe they pass it through a cloth; it produces a thick black liquor which they call *aschy*; this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain, they form into balls, and eat.—They live unmolested,

being considered as sacred, and having amongst them no offensive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them in matters of private controversy, and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them is secure from injury."

The Argippæi agree in description to the *Arimphæi* of Pliny, and of Mela, just spoken of.

" They are (says Pliny) not much unlike the *Hyperboreans* in their manner of life, (these are said to have lived immediately beyond them.) They live in forests, and feed on berries. Neither men nor women leave any hair on their heads. They are courteous in their behaviour, and are held inviolable by their neighbours, who leave them undisturbed; and moreover, do the same by those who take refuge amongst them;" lib. vi. c. 13. They are described to live at the foot of the *Riphæan* mountains; as the Argippæi at others, which are not named. Mela speaks much the same of the *Arimphæi*, lib. i. c. 21.

2. Concerning the *ISSEDONES*, the Greeks seem to have known but few particulars. These we have already spoken of, as the *Oigurs* or *Eluths* of the present times, and the *Æchardæ* of the Romans. Some of their customs are represented as the most abominable, whilst others shew them to be a refined people.

" They venerate (says our Author) the principles of justice, and allow their females to enjoy equal authority with the men;" Melp. 26. By this we should naturally understand that the women were in possession of those privileges which nature seems to have intended; and which they so deservedly hold in ci-

vilized societies ; namely, those of superintending the domestic departments, and of participating the comforts of society, without restraint. This marked a degree of refinement so much above the standard of Scythian nations, that it was given to Herodotus as a characteristic feature of their national manners. But as we learn that the *Oigurs* were a lettered nation, and that they alone furnished the conqueror JINGHIS KAN with secretaries, we are the less surprised at the refinements of their ancestors ; as the physical geography of their country is such (being one of the most elevated tracts in the centre of Asia) as is likely to preserve national manners through a long course of ages.

After this, how can we give credit to the following description, which belongs to the Issedones ?

“ As often as any one loses his father, his relations severally provide some cattle ; these they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they dismember also the body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole together, feast upon it. The head alone is preserved ; from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleansing it thoroughly, set it in gold : it is afterwards esteemed sacred, and produced in their solemn annual sacrifices.” Melp. 26.

As to the feast, we apprehend there is some mistake : but it is certain that Herodotus relates much the same of their neighbours the *Massagetæ*, in Clio, 216 ; but with the addition of *parricide* ; for they are said to eat those only whom they *kill*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo relates much the same of the *Massagetæ*, in page 513.

“ As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death, boiling along with the body the flesh of sheep and other animals, upon which they feast ; esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease they never eat ; they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain,” &c.

We feel the same difficulty in believing this story of the *Massagetæ* ; or indeed of any other people. But that people have killed, or at least *accelerated* the death of their aged and infirm parents, or friends, we believe, because we have *seen* something very much like it in Bengal : but *eating* them is a quite different matter<sup>2</sup> !

It appears that the *Issedones* do the same by the skulls of their *friends*, as the *Scythians* and others, with those of their *inveterate enemies*. The Author has seen, brought from *Bootan*, nearly in the same region with *Oigur*, (or the country of the *Issedones*,) skulls that were taken out of the temples or places of worship ; but it is not known, whether the motive to their preservation was friendship or enmity. It might, very probably, be the former. They were formed into drinking bowls, in the manner described by our Author, *Melp.* 65, by “ cutting them off *below the eyebrows* ;” and they were neatly varnished

<sup>2</sup> Our Author says, that one tribe of the *East Indians* also killed and eat their parents. *Thalia*, 99. Of this, more under the head of Asia.

all over. Herodotus says, the Scythians, if poor, covered them with leather; if rich, in addition to that, they decorated them with gold.

It would be satisfactory to know some more particulars respecting the ISSEDONES. Concerning their supposed descendants, the OIGURS, or ELUTHS, much more is known: and the subject cannot but be interesting to the reader.

The conquest of the Eluths, as they are called by the Chinese, forms a prominent feature in the military history of the Chinese, during the late emperor's reign; when they subjugated the whole tract, westward, to the ridge of *Imaus*, which separated the two eastern Scythias<sup>3</sup>.

The Eluths, previous to this conquest, possessed a kingdom of considerable extent, formed of the two great provinces of *Terfan* and *Hami*, (or *Kamil*,) which are situated in the *very centre* of Asia. They are said to have been masters of the country as far northward as the springs of the Irtish, and the mountains of Altai, before mentioned: and on the southwest they bordered on Kashgur<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The narrative of the conquests of the Eluths occurs in Vol. i. of the *Mémoires sur les Chinoises*: and is said to be translated from an inscription, in *Chinese verse*, written by the emperor KIEN-LONG, and engraven on an obelisk, or monument, in one of the public places in Peking. The conquest was made about the year 1757; and the monument erected four years afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> See the above *Mémoires*. According to the tables of latitude and longitude of the places in the kingdom of the Eluths, given in the same *Mémoires*, the kingdom should be about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  degrees

At the commencement of the power of Jinghis, early in the 13th century, the prince of this country was tributary to the king of Turkestan, who resided at Kashgur; and being oppressed, solicited the protection of Jinghis; which led to the conquest of Turkestan, by the latter <sup>5</sup>.

It seems to be understood in Asia, that the Oigurs furnished the Moguls, not only with their learning and science, but even with their alphabet; although some difference of opinion has arisen, whether the Moguls might not have had one of their own, and might only adopt that of the Oigurs, as being the more useful.

It is the remark of *M. Souciet* <sup>6</sup>, that no Tartar nation besides the Oigurs had the use of letters, in the time of Jinghis Kan: and he also says, that the characters used by the Eluths were the same with those in use in Thibet; where they are denominated *Tangusian*. Jinghis is said to have been the first of the Moguls who made use of the Oigurs, as secretaries; a custom which was followed by many of his successors.

Abulgazi Kan, in his History of the Turks and Tartars, bears testimony to the fact of Jinghis and his descendants having employed the Eluths as se-

of latitude in breadth, and 16 of longitude in length, in the parallel of 40°. The *Eluth* of the Chinese is pronounced *Oirat* by the western people.

<sup>5</sup> History of Jinghis Kan, by M. Petis de la Croix, lib. ii. c. 7.

<sup>6</sup> In his Observations Mathematical, Astronomical, &c. p. 146, quoted in Astley's Coll. iv. p. 416. The work itself we have not been able to meet with.

cretaries. So does M. Petis de la Croix<sup>7</sup>, who says, "the Moguls were indebted to the *Yugures* for the art of writing they now use, which was wanting, before their union with this people. Whether they found the manner of the *Yugures*' writing more convenient than *their own*, we know not; but they adopted it, and have used it ever since."

A note in the same book from Rubruquis, says, that the letter written by Mangou Kan, son of Jinglyhis, to St. Louis of France (A.D. 1254), was in the Mogul language, but in the *Yugurian* character: and that the lines were written from top to bottom, like the Chinese. This, we apprehend, contradicts the former statement of the Thibetian characters being in use amongst these people. Rubruquis, who visited the court of Mangou Kan, in 1254, ought to have known what the *Yugure* character and manner of writing was. He says that they write from top to bottom, and he also describes alphabetical characters.

Thus the fact of the *Yugures* being the *only* people in Tartary, who had written characters, does not appear to be clearly made out: and M. Petis de la Croix, who knew enough of Tartarian history, to be enabled to compile a history of Jinglyhis Kan, did not believe it.

3. The *ARIMASPIANS* should have been a considerable people, since they are represented as the aggressors in the war, by which the *Issedones* were driven westward on the *Scythians*; and if they were, as has been conjectured above, the inhabitants

<sup>7</sup> Hist. Jinglyhis Kan, lib. ii. cap. 7.

of the elevated region of Mount Altai, they would probably have been a very hardy people. But so much of fable enters into the very description of their persons, that little truth could be expected, had more particulars been given, Melp. 13. Aristeas had only *heard* of them, 17. We must suppose that the poem written by him, and called by the Greeks the *Arimaspian Verses*, related not only to this people, but to his travels generally<sup>s</sup>. (14, 16.)

We shall now return again to the geography, and conclude our inquiry concerning the general ideas of Herodotus respecting the extent and boundaries of Europe, by a recapitulation of the principal points that have been determined; and by adding a few remarks on their bearing on each other.

It has been shewn, that Herodotus does not assign an *eastern*, any more than a *northern* boundary, to Europe; although, in the opinion of the succeeding Greek geographers, such an eastern boundary is implied, in that of Scythia; namely, the course of the river *Tanais*. But, it is clear, that he not only overleaps *this* boundary, but extends Europe to the utmost verge of his geographical knowledge, *north-eastward*, and still says, that "it is uncertain whe-

<sup>s</sup> Mr. Beloe has the following note on *Aristeas*. Melpom. 13.

"This person is mentioned also by Pliny and Aulus Gellius: it is probable that he lived in the time of Cyrus and Cræsus. Longinus has preserved six of his verses; see chap. x.; of which he remarks, that they are rather florid, than sublime. Tzetzes has preserved six more. The account given of him by Herodotus is far from satisfactory." We may add, that Herodotus attributes the verses to Aristeas, in Melpom. 14.



ther it be bounded on the north and east by the ocean." The *Arimaspi*, the most remote nation known to him (for it is a doubt whether the *Gryphins* lay to the north or east of them), are certainly meant to be included in EUROPE; because he says, Thalia, 116, "It is certain, that in the *north of Europe* there is a prodigious quantity of gold—and it is affirmed that the *Arimaspi* take *this* gold away by violence from the *Gryphins*, &c<sup>9</sup>." Certainly then, as the place in which the gold was found, and which was contiguous to, or beyond the *Arimaspi*, was situated in Europe, these people also must be situated, either *in* Europe, or on the immediate borders of it: and, at all events, the *Issedones* are here classed as belonging to Europe; and of course, all the nations between them and the *Tanais*. No other interpretation can well be given to the passages above quoted, than that Europe extended eastward, beyond the limits of our Author's knowledge; that its limits were, in effect, *indefinite*; and that it remained to be determined, whether it was bounded by the sea, on the north, and east. That *he* believed this to be the case, to the *northward*, appears certain; because he says, in Melpom. 13,

<sup>9</sup> Our Author, although he retails the improbable stories told him, often takes care to shew that he disbelieves them; as on the present occasion. Says he, "I can never persuade myself, that there are any men, who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other respects, the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that these extreme parts of the world contain within themselves things the most beautiful, as well as rare." Thalia, c. 116.

that "the *Hyperboreans* lie beyond the *Issedones*, &c. and possess the whole country, quite to the *sea*." This is given on the report of *Aristeas*, who is said to have penetrated as far as to the *Issedones*<sup>1</sup>, *Melpom.* 16. In 32, the *Hyperboreans* are represented to be *neighbours* to the *Issedones* and *Arimaspians*. But *Herodotus* seems to have believed that there was no sea, on the east, either of *Europe*, or of the earth at large. For he scouts such opinions altogether, in *Melp.* 8, where he says, "the ocean, they say, commencing at the *east*, flows all round the earth: this, however, they affirm, without proving it." And again, (36.) "they pretend, without the smallest reason, or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth." Now, as he has admitted that the ocean does really bound the habitable earth on the *west*, the *south*, and the *north*, it is clear that it could be only on the *east*, that he disputed its existence.

It has appeared (page 185) that our Author placed the *Issedones* and *Arimaspians* very far to the north, perhaps in 53°, whilst the *Massagetæ*, and other nations at the *Caspian sea*, were many degrees farther to the south. These latter also were assigned to the division of *ASIA*, whilst the former were in that of *EUROPE*.

But he nevertheless omits to say, where the southern boundary of *Europe*, or the opposite one of *Asia*, passes, in the quarter beyond the *Euxine* and *Mæotis*. Now, as the river *Phasis* is by him reckoned the

<sup>1</sup> See above, pages 99 and 193.

common boundary of the two *divisions*, one must conceive that, in his idea, it passed thence to the eastward, by *Caucasus*, and the *north* of the Caspian: and that afterwards it remained *indefinite*; for although he places the Issedones and Massagetæ OPPOSITE to each other, he does not appear to have estimated the distance between them. It is probable, however, that he thought it to be very great.

The idea of a NORTHERN OCEAN occupied the minds of all the ancient geographers, but none of them seem to have had any just ideas concerning its position. Since it appears, that our Author must have supposed, that the northern tribes described by him, such as the Thyssagetæ, Issedones, Arimaspi, &c. extended as far north as  $53^{\circ}$  at least, and the Hyperboreans far beyond these, one cannot imagine his northern ocean to be lower than  $60^{\circ}$ : that is, several degrees *above* the country of *Amber*, on the Baltic. It is probable, by his saying that the Danube ran through the *centre* of Europe, that he had estimated the parallel of the Amber country (Prussia), by supposing it to be situated as far to the north of the Danube, as this last was from the southern shores of Europe, that lay opposite to Prussia: and then, reasoning from analogy, he might suppose the shore of the northern ocean to continue eastward, much in the same line of bearing, as it does on the whole, from the north coast of *Gaul*, to Prussia; that is, a few points to the northward of east. For, it must be recollected, that all the tract to the north-west of the Baltic sea, is not supposed to have existed, in his imagination, otherwise than as *Islands*: perhaps like

the *Cassiterides*, or *Britain*<sup>2</sup>. We need only to look back, to our own ideas of the northern ocean, beyond AMERICA, when only certain points in the line of its coast were marked, by the early discoverers. Such kind of analogies the mind ever has recourse to, when necessitated to create a sensible object to reason on. It appears, then, that Herodotus placed the shore of the northern ocean much the same as Eratosthenes; but more distant than Strabo (see Gosselin); only, that being free from one capital error of theirs, that of supposing the Caspian sea to be a gulf of the ocean in question, he felt no necessity for bringing the ocean nearer to it, in order to shorten the *supposed strait*, so as to bring it within the bounds of probability. Pliny seems to have thought it more to the south, than any one of his predecessors; and Ptolemy, by omitting to place it at all, has left the matter at large.

<sup>2</sup> Eratosthenes and Ptolemy believed that the countries beyond the Baltic sea (Sweden, Norway, &c.), were insulated from the main land of Europe: and that the Baltic was a strait. This Island is named *Baltia* by the former, *Scandia* by the latter. Some moderns have indeed believed, that such a state of things existed, in early times: and that the lakes *Ladoga* and *Onega* were a continuation of the strait, between the gulf of Finland and the White sea. We have no doubt but it might have been so, but doubtless it was long before the time of Eratosthenes; and the idea of the Baltic being a strait, is more likely to have arisen from appearances, and from their ignorance of the geography of the northern part of it. Ptolemy's knowledge appears not to have extended to the gulf of Finland. Strabo's ended at the mouth of the Elbe: and he disbelieved the fact of the existence of *Baltia* altogether; as well as of *Thule*. Thus, geography lost ground in this quarter also, between the times of Eratosthenes and Strabo.

The HYPERBOREANS may be regarded as the *In-cognitæ* of Herodotus ; for he says, Melp. 32, that “ of the Hyperboreans, neither the Scythians, nor any of the neighbouring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowledge ; and indeed *what they say* merits but little attention.” But he observes that the *Delians* knew more of the subject. It appears that the Hyperboreans had transmitted *sacred offerings to Delos*, progressively through the hands of the Scythians, and other intermediate nations, Melpom. 33 ; and the route of these offerings is traced to the borders of the Adriatic, and thence to Delos, in the following order :

First through Scythia, and thence “ regularly through every contiguous nation, till they arrived at the *Adriatic*. From thence, transported towards the *south*, they were first of all received by the *Dodoneans* of Greece”—thence to the gulf of *Melis*, through *Eubœa* to *Tenos* (passing *Andros*), and finally to *Delos*. From the context, it may be supposed, that, as no part of Scythia lay to the west of Transylvania, and the route from *Scythia* to *Dodona* lay considerably to the west of south, that the country of the *Hyperboreans* must at least be situated to the north-eastward of the *Borysthenes* : and to speak more critically, it is probable that no part of it extended, in the idea of Herodotus, further to the west than the source of the *Tanais* ; since he says, Melp. 18 and 20, that beyond the *Androphagi* and the *Melanchlæni*, the country was *uninhabited* ; and the latter of these people adjoined, as we have seen, to the *west* of the *Tanais*.

It may be concluded then, that, in the idea of

Herodotus, the country of the Hyperboreans began about the meridian of the Tanais, and extended indefinitely eastward. In Melp. 32, the Issedones, as well as the Scythians, are said to be *neighbours* to the Hyperboreans: and as, in 13, these last are said to lie *beyond* (*i. e.* to the *north*, we conclude, of) the Issedones, it is clear that they extended eastward as far as the Issedones at least. Whence it should follow, of course, that the RUSSIANS and SIBERIANS, and particularly such of the latter as are situated on the upper parts of the rivers *Oby* and *Irtish*, represent the *Hyperboreans of Herodotus*. They occupied the country, quite to the sea, in the extreme part of the north: Melp. 13 and 36; and, if we may credit Herodotus, were the only nation who were not continually engaged in war with their neighbours. This might possibly be, from their having no nation *beyond* them; and their own country might be too cold to tempt the people of the south to invade them, in an age of the world, when there was not so much want of room. We may add, that according to our Author's extended dimensions of Europe, he certainly meant to include the HYPERBOREANS in it.

There is reason to conclude, that the term *Hyperborean*, amongst the Greeks, had different applications, in different ages, according to the progress of geographical knowledge; as *Thule* had at a later time. Both meant the remotest tracts that they had any knowledge of; and of which the knowledge was too limited to admit of any clear or determinate application. Britain, according to Diodorus, was the

Hyperborean country of more ancient times: and after that the remote parts of Europe and Asia, which the Greeks knew only by report.

Pliny, lib. iv. c. 12, is more particular in his description of the Hyperboreans than any other author. He places them beyond the Riphæan mountains; and these, according to his descriptions, are to be looked for at the heads of the *Tanais* and *Jaik*. (See above, p. 182). But, he remarks that some have placed them in ASIA, at the shore of the ocean; whilst he includes them in Europe. Here it is proper to observe, that although the western part of the country in question was in Europe, yet it extended very far into Asia also. Pliny was probably ignorant of the true course of the *Tanais*, and believed it to come from the N, or NE, instead of the NW, as it really does. And this belief would have occasioned him to misplace both the Riphæan mountains, and the country in question.

He speaks of the country as being woody; and of the climate as very severe; in fact, much in the same terms with Herodotus. The people he describes to be peaceful, pious, happy, and long-lived.

Ptolemy places the Hyperboreans beyond the borders of Europe. Diodorus (lib. ii. c. 3.) speaks of them from some ancient traditions, but which he regarded as fabulous. Some circumstances of this report point evidently to our island; others to the country described by Herodotus beyond Scythia. In the first place, an island is described to lie opposite to *Gaul*, and to be of equal extent to *Sicily*. (They might only have known a part of it.) In this island

stood a famous temple, of a *circular* form, with a stately grove belonging to it ; and there were priests who played on *harps*. But it is also said that the Hyperboreans and Grecians communicated with each other, and that the former had a particular kindness for the *Delians*. Thus far Diodorus.

Strabo, p. 62, and in other places, appears to consider the term Hyperborean, as merely *relative*.

The *Gog* and *Magog*, or rather *Jajuje* and *Majuje*, of the Orientals, seem to occupy nearly the place of the Hyperboreans of *Ptolemy* and the *Romans*. Of the eastern geographers, Edrisi is the most particular in the description of this tract. Ibn Al Wardi is more general ; and Abulfeda much too general, to be clearly understood.

Edrisi places the country of *Jagog* and *Magog* (as his Maronite translator writes it), *beyond* those of the *Turks* and *Kalmucs* ; and extends it to the northern ocean ; which, it appears, he supposed to be situated at no great distance, northward, beyond the bounds of his VIIth climate. This climate included Great Britain, Sweden, the northern parts of Russia, and the corresponding parts of the country of *Jagog* and *Magog* ; which last was supposed to be bounded on the *east* by the continuation of the same ocean. This climate, moreover, like the rest, is divided into ten parts, of which the ninth, reckoning progressively from the west, is occupied by the country in question ; and the tenth is supposed to be a part of the ocean itself. From this position of the northern ocean, given by Edrisi, it must of course be inferred, that he supposed its nearest shore



to lie in the same parallel with Sweden and the northern part of Russia; so that he was under a very great error as to the position of those countries on the globe; which may be regarded as being in the parallel of  $60^{\circ}$ , whilst the VIIth climate of ALFRAGANIUS reaches no farther to the north than  $50\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . (See his Elements of Astronomy, chap. viii. p. 34.)

It is certain that Edrisi, in common with the ancient, as well as the Arabian, geographers, supposed the continent of Asia to terminate on the north-east, at a line drawn from the northern part of the Yellow sea, to the mouth of the Oby, whose principal branch, the Irtish, seems to be designed by the river *Almashar*, said to pass through the interior part of the tract assigned by Edrisi to Jagog and Magog. Whence it appears, that the great body of Siberia and Eastern Tartary were unknown to Edrisi and Abulfeda, as well as to the Greek geographers: for the ideas of Eratosthenes and Strabo are, in effect, the same with theirs.

Thus, the northern extremity of the country of Jagog and Magog, which Edrisi places in the VIIth climate, or below  $50\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , should, by his own arrangement of the other regions, placed in the same climate, be in about  $60^{\circ}$ . Much the same kind of error, though less in quantity, appears in the arrangement of the countries, in the IVth and Vth climates; the Kalmucs (*Kaimakiens*) being placed between the parallels of  $33\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$  and  $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , although they are really between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$ ; (see again Alfraganus.) Again, the country of Samarkand, with part of Kowarezm, and the course of the

river Sirr (*Jaxartes*), are placed in the IVth, although they occupy rather the parallels assigned to the Vth climate.

We therefore place the country in question, in reference to the absolute geography, and not to the climates assigned, since they prove to be so erroneously conceived. A reference to the sketch in No. IV. page 153, will save much discussion: for, the reader will there perceive the relative positions of the several divisions of the climates that contain the country of Jagog and Magog, together with those bordering on it, collected from Edrisi. There it will be seen, that it borders *southward*, and *south-westward*, on the *Eluth Kalmucs*, on *Turkestan*, the *Desht Kipzak*, and the country of the *Baskirians*: and, consequently, that it contained the tract situated to the north of the mountains so often mentioned, which divide the Great Steppe now possessed by the Kirgees tribes: so that the Steppe of *Issim*, and the course of the Irtish in particular, belonged to the people of Gog and Magog; but what other tracts beyond these are not particularized. Thus, as has been said before, it may be regarded as the Hyperborean country of Ptolemy.

Ibn Al Wardi (as well as Edrisi) says, that the people of Jagog and Magog occupied the remote part of Asia, beyond the Kalmucs, &c. (Herbelot.)

Abulfeda mentions the rampart only, and that without any discrimination of position, otherwise than that it lies to the *north*, and also to the *west*, of China. His words are these: "The ocean bends *northward*, and in its progress shuts up the *eastern*

quarter of China, till it *faces* the mound or rampart of JAJUJE and MAJUJE. Thence it bends *westward*," &c. (Prolegomena). It is obvious that this may relate to the wall of China, as much as to the other; and it is possible that Abulfeda may have confounded both together.

The Caliph WATHEK, about A.D. 842, sent a person from Sermenrai, on the Tigris, to examine the rampart, and report on it. He travelled by way of Derbend, and thence *northward* (perhaps *north-eastward* also, after he passed the Wolga); and having travelled 36 days, came to some ruined towns in the Steppe; and at the end of about two months' journey came to the rampart itself. It is said that he was also two months in going from the rampart to Samarkand, by which route he returned to Sermenrai, after being absent 28 months.

It is certain, that if any reliance can be placed on the number of journies given, this rampart ought to be at the north part of the Steppe, near the fortified line drawn by the Russians from the *Tobol* to the *Irtish*, to keep out the Kirgees from the lands of Tobolsk. But we do not expect any accuracy in the report of the numbers; especially as Edrisi himself places the rampart in the 9th division of the VIth climate, and on the borders of Turkestan: so that it should rather be about 40 journies to the north, somewhat east of Samarkand, in the parallel of 50°, and nearly south from Tobolsk. The great *chain* passes the Steppe *there*: and as the travellers are said to have passed a great extent of desert in the way to it; in which were the ruins of towns formerly

occupied by Jajuje, &c. ; and this being actually the state of the desert now occupied by the Kirgees, in the quarter between the Aral and the mountains just mentioned ; it must be allowed to corroborate the above statement <sup>3</sup>.

Some have supposed the rampart in question to mean a wall between the Euxine and Caspian ; but if the statements of the Arabian authors are not to be regarded as mere fables, it must be looked for *very far* to the *north*, and even to the *east* also, of the Caspian sea : since the person sent by the caliph set off from *Derbend* in quest of it, and travelled northward 26 or 27 days ; a part of which journey lay through the country of the *Baskirians* (*Besegert* of Edrisi), which, by the position assigned, should be to the N, somewhat east, of the Caspian <sup>4</sup> ; and, by every modern account, the Baskirians are seated to the east of the Wolga. Moreover, he was at this time advanced but half way to the rampart. Again, he *returned* by way of *Lokman*, a city pointed out by Edrisi, whose position appears to be in the Great Steppe, on the banks of a river that falls into the lake of *Turgai*, or *Aksokal* ; and may be supposed to be situated 8 or 10 degrees to the northward of Samarkand <sup>5</sup>.

From the description of the rampart and its gates, one is led to suppose that they either belonged to

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Tooke says, *Russia*, vol. ii. p. 14, that "the desert of *Kirguis* abounds in the relics of opulent cities."

<sup>4</sup> Edrisi, *climate VI.* part 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* *clim. VI.* part 8.

some ancient city, or were part of the fortifications of the passes of the mountains before spoken of. It is related that the whole Steppe, although now devoid of habitations, and peopled only with the Nomadic tribes of the Kirgees, was, even during the Tartar government, in certain parts, thickly sown with towns and cities; of which the remains, now visible, furnish the most ample proof<sup>6</sup>.

It may be remarked, that remains composed of large masses, such as the gates of the above rampart, continue longer in their collective state in the east, than in Europe; because the materials are not convertible to ordinary purposes, as with us. The vast palace of Chosroes remains on the banks of the Tigris, because a great collective strength is required to demolish it: and also the stately gates of the citadel of Gour; both for this reason, and because they are in part formed of large component parts. In Europe, means would readily be found to reduce them to smaller parts, if there was no demand for them, in their original state. The whole east abounds with ruins of ancient structures, which are so much unlike any in use at the present day, that the vulgar often refer their origin, as well as

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Tooke, vol. ii. p. 11, *et seq.* says, that "the countries which formed the TARTARIAN EMPIRE abound in monuments of former power. The remains of ditches and ramparts are frequently met with.—The ramparts of *Sibir*, the ancient capital of Tartary, are still seen about *Tobolsk* on the *Irtish*. The lofty walls of *Tontoura* appear yet in the *Baraba*—not to mention the sepulchres and ruins in the deserts of the *Kirguis*, which abounds in the relics of opulent cities."

their uses, to superior beings. The miserable clay huts attached to the walls of the temples and palaces at Athens, Palmyra, or Thebes, do certainly exhibit the strongest contrast between the wants and dispositions of men in different ages in the same spot: but as we regard public monuments as faithful indexes of the state of industry and taste, as well as of the ease and plenty that must necessarily have reigned previous to their execution, we do not, with M. Volney's philosopher<sup>7</sup>, feel a secret pleasure in contemplating MAN in that state of debasement which leads him to destroy, rather than to admire, an exquisite work of art. After this long digression, we return to the geography of our Author<sup>8</sup>.

Much is said concerning the severity of the winters, not only amongst the Hyperboreans (where it might naturally be looked for,) but even amongst the Cimmerians on the Euxine, situated in the 45th degree only. The winters, our Author says, "continue eight months, and are intolerably severe and cold, and the remaining four *sufficiently* cold. The

<sup>7</sup> Volney's Travels, vol. i. chap. 19.

<sup>8</sup> The reader will find in the Mém. Acad. Insc. vol. xxxi. a memoir on the position of the rampart of Gog and Magog. The result of M. D'Anville's investigation is, in a general view, much the same with ours, since it places the rampart near the mountains of the Steppe: but, critically speaking, we have assumed a position 8 or 9 degrees of longitude more to the west, 2½ of latitude more to the north, having obtained from the new Russian charts, some notices that were unknown to M. D'Anville. Moreover, we regard some of the positions given by Edrisi in a somewhat different view from M. D'Anville.

sea itself (meaning, it may be supposed, the *Mæotis*), and the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, are congealed; and the *Scythians* make hostile incursions on the ice, and penetrate with their waggons as far as *India*." Melpom. 28.

Here, by an error, no doubt of the copyists, our Author is made to advance a very extraordinary fact, if not an absurdity; since India is not only removed to a vast distance from the *Mæotis*, but the greatest part of the intervening space is *land*. In effect, he meant *Sindica*; which is, by his own statement, somewhere near the *Mæotis*; for in Melpom. 86, he says, that the broadest part of the Euxine is between the river *Thermodon* and *Sindica*: which latter must therefore, of course, be looked for opposite to the river *Thermodon*.

Pliny says, lib. iv. c. 12, that in winter the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* is frozen, and may be crossed by foot passengers. But he is vague in his application of *Sindica*. *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* are very pointed. The former, p. 492, 495, places *Sindica* beyond the river *Hypanis* (*Kuban*), in respect of *Taurica*: and *Ptolemy* has *Sinda* in that position, together with the port of *Sindica*, answering precisely to the present *Sindjik*, in the Russian and other maps; at no great distance to the eastward of the mouth of the river *Kuban*.

Our Author moreover says, Melpom. 7, and 31, speaking of *Scythia*, that the snow falls so thick as to obstruct the view; and it was also his opinion that the regions remotely situated to the north were un-

inhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate; 31<sup>o</sup>. Concerning the people of whom he says, in 25, that they sleep away six months of the year, it may mean, that by the severity of the climate they are compelled to stay mostly within doors during that period; which actually happens to those who winter in very remote northern latitudes. Or, had he heard of the long absence of the sun, in winter, within the polar circle?

It appears that the HYPERBOREANS above spoken of had been in the habit of sending their offerings to DELOS, by the hands of two virgins. On one occasion of this kind these died at Delos; and the men who accompanied them as a guard never returned. The Hyperboreans, to prevent a repetition of this evil, adopted the method of sending their offerings in the manner above related, through the hands of the intermediate nations<sup>1</sup>; Melpom. 33. In honour of these virgins, the Delian youth of both sexes celebrated certain rites; particularly cutting off their hair, and offering it on the tomb<sup>2</sup>; (34.)

There is something more than ordinarily melan-

<sup>o</sup> Can the phrase *Cimmerian darkness*, arise from the darkness of the air occasioned by the thick and frequent falls of snow, and by the general state of the atmosphere in winter, in the region beyond the Euxine; as Scythia itself was originally *Cimmerian*?

<sup>1</sup> Pliny also mentions this circumstance, lib. iv. c. 12; and speaks as if the Hyperboreans suspected some unfair proceedings. He says that the offerings were of the first fruits of their grain: and Herodotus, that they were carefully folded in *straw*. Melp. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian remarks that the same kind of offerings were made at the temple of the Syrian goddess, at Hierapolis.



choly in the fate of those, who, visiting a distant country on some specific errand, and with a view to an immediate return, perish untimely in a strange land. How often has this happened in our own times! in particular, the fate of TUPIA, and LEE Boo, interests us, from their amiable dispositions, and the grief of their friends who awaited their return. How adventurous soever the spirit that leads men to brave dangers on distant shores may be, yet, during intervals of leisure, the mind is strongly called back to the place it left; and for which, a passion is implanted by nature in every mind that is rightly formed.

Whatsoever has a tendency to link mankind together, in peaceful society, is pleasing to liberal minds; and therefore we feel a degree of sorrow for such accidents. For, whether the object of the visit be rational curiosity, or harmless superstition, or both, the effect produced on the mind may be good; and the benefits that *whole communities* may derive from the inquiries of such travellers are, in some cases, incalculable. However trifling, therefore, such matters may appear to some minds, we are by no means inclined to blame, much less to ridicule, the opinions of those, at whose instance the above offerings were sent. The human mind, softened by present distress, or terrified at dangers, which it feels that it cannot avert, becomes conscious of its own imbecility, and looks for support to a SUPERIOR POWER, a belief of whose existence is strongly impressed on every mind (which is either not *sottish*, or not *conceited*), by seeing around it an order of things which appears to

be upheld by superior wisdom and power. Homage and supplication are accordingly offered, but the ignorance or weakness of human nature, often refers them to mistaken objects. But if it happens that certain communities in the world are blessed with more enlarged and rational ideas of the DEITY, they ought to pity, but not to deride, the conduct of those who do no more than act naturally, according to the state of their knowledge.

If, in minds prepared for it, superstition can give composure, when nothing else could effect it, it must be allowed to be a real good. And to take this away, without making an adequate return for it, would be like endeavouring to persuade a person that he was unhappy, when he felt himself otherwise. The physician, either of the mind or body, who can cheat us into ease, has rendered us a certain good. Whilst fears and doubts invade the minds of the ignorant, they will ever have recourse to the operations of superstition; and people of education have no right to blame them, until they have prepared a remedy for such doubts and fears. But the truth is, that the labouring part of the community, (that is, the bulk of it,) could not, if they wished it, get rid of their prejudices and superstitions, for want of leisure to reason on them; nor might they be *happier* by the change. We appeal to the history of mankind.

With regard to travelling, on the score of rational curiosity and improvement, it ought at least to command the respect and approbation of mankind. To what is the rapid advancement in those arts which

administer to the comforts of common life, in Europe, under an increased and increasing population, to be ascribed, but to the importation of useful inventions and products from other countries; adopting from amongst them that which is useful and applicable, either as a new discovery, or as a modification of a former practice? Thus the communities of the earth have insensibly improved, even from a period so remote, that the names of their early benefactors have been lost; or perhaps, in some instances, they have only lost their mortal distinctions, to become gods, or demi-gods. The world has seen a PYTHAGORAS, an ANACHARSIS, an HERODOTUS, a PETER ALEXIOWITZ, a BANKS, forego, either the exercise of unlimited power, the blandishments of elegant society, or at least, the comforts of ease and security, to brave the dangers of the deep, or those greater dangers, which often arise from an intercourse with man, in his savage state; in quest of knowledge, or of useful productions. Nor that kind of knowledge alone, which merely administers to the pleasure of the traveller; but that which is derived from inquiries, concerning what useful customs or institutions amongst men, and what products of the earth, or sea, might be imported into their own countries, or their colonies.

The *interchange* of useful vegetable productions between the different countries of the earth, with a view to cultivation, is alone an object which commands the gratitude of the world; and happy the man whose fame rests on this solid foundation: a foundation that opinion cannot shake, since ALL feel

and participate in the benefits ; whilst systems of politics, and the fame of their authors, vanish ; and are, in comparison with the other, like unsubstantial clouds, that vary their form and colour with every change of position or circumstance <sup>3</sup>.

To return to the proper subject of the work.—In the above geographical discussion, we have attempted to give a sketch of the extent of Europe, and the distribution of its parts, according to the ideas of Herodotus. The Greek writers of succeeding times limited it generally to the Tanais and Mæotis, and thereby reduced its length to about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of that allowed by our Author. But whatsoever he might add to it in length, was more than overbalanced by the quantity of actual space unknown to him, and consequently omitted, in Scandinavia, the northern part of Russia, and the British islands.

It is certain that the ideas, either of Arrian, or of the journalists of Alexander's expedition, from whom he collected his information, were not perfectly clear concerning the extent of Europe eastward. For Arrian says, (lib. iv. c. 1,) that *very soon* after the arrival of Alexander at the Jaxartes, he received ambassadors from the EUROPEAN Scythians. Now, when it is considered that it is two months' journey from the Tanais to Alexander's post on the Jaxartes, the sud-

<sup>3</sup> " And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever would make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only ONE grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together." (SWIFT'S Gulliver's Travels.)

den appearance of the ambassadors there proves, either that they could not have come from so distant a quarter, or that they were already in the neighbourhood on some other errand. It is therefore probable that Alexander, following the ideas of Herodotus, and other Greeks, extended Europe very far to the east of the Mæotis, and to the *supposed strait* that led from the northern ocean to the Caspian; which latter, it appears, he believed to be a gulf of that ocean; as Eratosthenes, Strabo, and others did, after him. And thus he might class some of the Asiatic Scythians, as belonging to Europe. We are told that Alexander sent back some confidential persons with these Scythians (denominated *European*: and Arrian himself allows that there was a *great nation* of Scythians in Europe,) who returned again to him afterwards, whilst in his winter quarters in Bactria, and previous to his *second* visit to Sogdia. Arrian, lib. iv. c. 15.

If we are to credit the report of Arrian respecting the opinion of Alexander on this matter, he was in doubt whether the Euxine and Caspian seas did not communicate with each other; for, he is said to have projected the equipment of a fleet, for the purpose of deciding the question; lib. vii. c. 1 and 16. He remarks also, that at this time the limits of the Caspian sea were unknown. Be it as it will, Alexander told the king of *Chorasmia*, who affirmed that his territories bordered on the Euxine, that, after he had made himself master of Asia, and was returned to Greece, he would pass through the Hellespont and Propontis, into the Euxine sea. Lib. iv. c. 15. And

in lib. vii. c. 1, it is said that this expedition was intended against the Scythians of the Mæotis.

Should the reader be inclined to censure either our decisions or our prolixity, it may be stated in apology, that it is a very difficult task to follow the geography of persons who describe the relative position of countries, without putting the description *to the test*, by reducing it to geometrical construction. The same may be said equally of Strabo and Eratosthenes, as of Herodotus.

END OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE.

## SECTION VIII.

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### OF ASIA, ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

*Extent and boundaries of Asia, according to Herodotus—Arabia the last inhabited country towards the south, India to the east—The space beyond India supposed to be a desert—Asia of less extent than Europe, in our Author's idea—China not known to the ancient Persians; and India a recent discovery—The visit of Alexander to India had the effect of contracting the limits of the Earth in the ancient systems of geography; as well as of falsifying certain particulars of it—India supposed by him to be shut up by the Eastern Ocean—Longitudinal extent of Asia, and of the Earth, according to the ideas of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny—Scope of the geographical knowledge of Herodotus, in Asia—deficient in respect of his description of the physical geography—Idea of the Chain of Taurus, amongst the Greeks—their system failed to express the levels of the different regions—Caspian Strait and Mount Argæus—the Mediterranean and Euxine seas both seen from the summit of the latter—General idea of the levels and of the courses of the waters, through Western Asia—Hollow tract which contains Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia, &c—Of Imaus, and Emodus, the elevated region of Eastern Asia, and the courses of its waters—The whole of Eastern Asia on a higher level than the Western.*

ON the subject of ASIA, Herodotus has said a great deal; for this division of the globe, next to Greece and Egypt, formed the chief theatre of his history. His knowledge of Asia extended from the shores of

the Arabian gulf, and of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, its acknowledged boundaries on the west and south-west, to the country of the Oigurs (or Eluths), the sandy desert of Kobi and India, inclusive, on the east. Southward, it extended to the *Erythræan* sea, the proper boundary of Asia on the side of Arabia and Persia: but there is reason to believe that he, in idea, allowed to the Peninsula of India far less extent than the truth. Northwards, he seems to have known (as has already been proved) the whole extent of the Great Steppe, or territory of the Kirgees, the Desht Kipzak, and other tracts, as far as the mountains of Altai and the heads of the Irtysh.

This space, however, is hardly equal to *one third* of Asia; but it is all that is *described* by him. He had *heard* of the *Hyperboreans*, as well as of the *vast deserts* that extended to the east, beyond India; and also of the *Issedones*; however, we cannot fix any limits to his ideas of the extent of space in these two directions, although we may pretty confidently believe that they went but little beyond India, on the one hand, or beyond the tribes specified in his description of Europe, on the other. Here it is necessary to remind the reader, that in order to adjust the extent of Asia to the ideas of Herodotus, one must deduct, as belonging to Europe, all the tract lying to the north of Caucasus, the Caspian sea, and the Massagetæ. And, in effect, *his* Asia, with the exception of Arabia, the Massagetæ, and a part of India, was little more than that part of it which was subject to



Darius Hystaspes. The Asia of Herodotus was, in his own idea, even *less* than Europe; Melpomene, 36.

The Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosphorus of Thrace, are particularized as portions of its western boundary; Melpom. 85, 86, 87. That the isthmus of Suez, or border of Egypt, was intended for a part of the boundary, likewise is certain; but it is not so clear whether, in his idea, Egypt was reckoned a *part* of Africa; and consequently whether *Asia joined to Africa*. When he says, Melpom. 42, that "Africa is surrounded by the sea, except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia," we ought to understand that they certainly *joined*. Nor is this opinion weakened by what he previously says, in 41, after speaking of the breadth of the Isthmus of Suez: "*Here* the country *expands*, and takes the name of *Libya*." But it appears from Euterpe, 16, 17, that an opinion prevailed in Greece and Ionia, that Egypt was distinct from the two continents: and our Author himself says, "I myself am of opinion that the *land* of *Egypt* alone constitutes the natural and proper limits of *Asia* and *Africa*." This will be farther considered under the head of Africa: but, at all events, there is no question that either the Isthmus of Suez itself, or the eastern boundary of Egypt, constituted the western boundary of Asia; and not the course of the Nile.

ARABIA is said to be "the last inhabited country towards the south;" Thalia, 107: but this is explained in 115, where it is said that Arabia and

Ethiopia “ are the two extremes of Asia and Africa ;” and in 114, where “ Ethiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to Arabia, on the south-west :” thus marking his idea of the relative positions of the two countries to each other, and to the earth in general. The *extent* of Arabia southward is marked by the length of the Red sea, which is said to be 40 days of navigation ; Euterpe, 11 : and it being about 1,230 G. miles in direct distance, this is no mean approximation to the truth ; respect being had to the rate of sailing of ancient ships ; of which, more in its place. But it will be found, that he makes it too narrow, and its line of direction, according to the result from the general *data*, too near the meridian.

Concerning the Erythræan sea, the southern boundary of Asia, he seems to have known few particulars : for he evidently did not know that the sea which bordered on *Persia Proper* was a *gulf*, like that which separates *Arabia* from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. All appears to be described as one continuous open sea, from the Indus to the Euphrates.

Towards the north, no idea of any positive boundary of Asia is given, beyond the *Colchian Phasis*<sup>1</sup> : but the boundary is implied to pass between the territories of the Massagetæ and the Issedones ; the latter of which people were, erroneously, supposed to lie to the *north* of the former. This has been already exploded in the dissertation on the boun-

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus and Procopius are the only persons who assign this boundary to Asia. See page 47.

daries of Europe ; (page 176). This part of Herodotus's geography is therefore remarkably deficient ; perhaps from the difficulty which he found in arranging the relative positions, after having assumed such false principles.

India was reckoned " the *last inhabited* country towards the east ;" Thalia, 107. And, in 98, " the Indians are the people of Asia who are *nearest the east*, and the place of the *rising sun*." But his ideas of India, whether respecting its geography, or the state of society, were very limited indeed, and no less erroneous. Nor is it extraordinary that it should be so ; since he informs us that, as to particulars, India was a recent discovery, even to the Persians, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, who caused the Indus to be navigated throughout, and the coasts of the ocean, and of the Arabian gulf, to be explored ; after which he subdued the Indians, and made himself master of the sea that borders on their coast. Melpom. 44.

Beyond India, Herodotus confesses that he knew nothing. " As far as *India* (says he, Melp. 40), *Asia* is well inhabited ; but from India, *eastward*, the whole country is *one vast desert, unknown, and unexplored*." That the tract was unknown, and unexplored, by those who held converse with the Persians and Greeks, appears likely : but that it was one vast desert, is now known to be an error ; since the vast empire of China, and its dependencies, together with the Peninsula beyond the Ganges, &c. &c. lie to the east of India. It is certain, however, that a vast barrier of mountainous country shuts up,

on the East, the quarter of India, possessed by Darius (his 20th Satrapy); the part to which the Persians may be supposed to have pointed their inquiries; and which appears to be the part here intended. And moreover, that to this mountainous tract, there succeeds the extensive *sandy desert* of *Kobi* (or *Shamo*), and other Tartarian deserts, of almost immeasurable extent.

It may therefore, perhaps, be inferred, that the desert of Kobi, was the *remotest* part of the *East* that Herodotus had heard of; and that when he spoke of the deserts *beyond* India, it was of *this desert*: and although to us, to whom the form, the quality, and relative positions of the different tracts are known, it may appear a great error, to place a desert adjoining to India eastward; yet we must regard Herodotus, as a person who was ignorant of the true state of the matter, as to particulars; and that, hearing of a desert, *beyond India*, he thought himself justified in shutting up that country entirely, on that side, with a desert.

Those to whom the geography of North America, and New Holland, has been gradually unfolded, during the latter half of the present century, may recollect how crude their ideas were, respecting the form and extent of the unexplored parts of those continents, and that every discovery was a refutation of some former error. With our minds thus prepared, we ought to follow Herodotus, in his descriptions of the remote parts of the earth.

According to the above ideas, therefore, *Asia*, as known to Herodotus, was more contracted in point

of length than Europe ; or rather what is designed by him under that name ; for from *Cape St. Vincent* to the supposed seat of the *Issedones* (that is, *opposite* to the *Massagetæ*), is much more than equal to the length of Asia, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Tartarian deserts*.

And hence it must also be inferred, that the Persians of those days, had no commercial intercourse either with *China* or *Cathai*, as in latter times ; otherwise, either Herodotus, Alexander, or the Seleucidæ, would at least have *heard* of China, and Eratosthenes would have noticed it. But it has appeared that India itself was *new ground* to the Persians (we mean those, who formed the original empire of Cyrus), and much more the countries beyond it : and indeed, judging by later events, it must have been the particular policy of the Indians to keep their people at *home* ; which has at least some effect towards *shutting* out strangers : and whatsoever applies in this way to *India*, applies perhaps in a yet greater degree to *China*.

It may appear very extraordinary, but was nevertheless true, that the visit of Alexander to *India*, was the means of contracting, in some degree, the limits that had been assigned by the geographers of preceding times to ASIA ; and, of course, to the earth itself : for the system of Alexander admitted of *no tract* of land whatsoever, *beyond* India ; making India the most eastern country of Asia, although Herodotus had extended a vast desert beyond it. How is this change to be accounted for ? It could not well be, that the Indians had not *heard* of any

country beyond *them*, and that they believed *theirs* to be shut up by the sea, on the east ; or that Alexander should have neglected to make the proper inquiries ; but it might have been owing to bad interpreters ; or Alexander may have misconceived the scope of their information. It is possible, too, that *vanity* may have had some share in it, by its causing a wish that there should be no other country beyond the one he had explored ; in other words, that he had gone to the end of the earth. It is certain that something of this kind appears, also, in the conduct of Polybius, with respect to Africa, as will appear in its place ; and we suspect that this conduct is on the whole natural <sup>2</sup>.

There is, however, a very striking fact that we shall mention, and which might have had a considerable share in determining the opinion of Alexander ; and who but is ready to believe the thing he wishes ? He would have learnt from the Indians, of course, that the Ganges had an easterly course towards the sea ; and this, doubtless, fixed in his mind the idea of an EASTERN OCEAN, which in its nature, must have shut up the Continent on that side ; and also joined

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, who wrote in the 5th century after Herodotus, believed that there was no country beyond India : so that China, although at that time, perhaps, one of the most populous and interesting countries in the world, had escaped the knowledge both of the Greeks and Romans to that time. It is uncertain when the tables called *Theodosian* were formed, but it is generally supposed about the second century. The state of knowledge appears to have been much the same, at that time. Nor was China *distinctly* known in Europe, till the 13th century.

to the NORTHERN ocean, which Eratosthenes and others believed to terminate the habitable earth, at the *embouchure* of the Ganges. This deduction was certainly very plausible; and might well have deceived those, who were unable, from want of language, either to make themselves understood, or to understand others critically; for few would have conceived that the mouth of the Ganges, which river itself had a general *easterly* course, was situated in a gulf of the *southern* ocean. The opinions of Eratosthenes, Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian, were all to the former effect; so that, no doubt, it was the commonly received opinion, from the date of Alexander's expedition<sup>3</sup>.

Herodotus gives no intimation concerning the measure of the extent of Asia, beyond Susa eastward; nor was it probably known to him. Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, each have given it; nor are their reports so far different from the truth as might have been expected, all circumstances taken into the account. For, in the first place, the distance must be supposed to be calculated on the measure of the road: the mode by which it was, in all probability, obtained. It must also have been reckoned on many different lines of bearing, the inflexions of which could not well be ascertained: and lastly, the

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, lib. ii. c. 108, after setting forth that the Ganges discharged itself into the *Eastern ocean*, marks this position as the eastern extremity of the world, by opposing it to the gulf of *Issus*, and the Promontory of *Sacrum* (Cape St. Vincent,) on the west; and then goes into a curious calculation of the measure of the habitable earth.

distance between the Indus and the mouth of the Ganges, was in a great measure taken on report.

As then the actual distance, in a direct line from Cape St. Vincent to Issus, and thence to the mouth of the Ganges, is about 4970 G. miles <sup>4</sup>, we shall, by adding  $\frac{1}{8}$  for inflexions (621 miles), be enabled to assume 5591 for the road distance. Now Eratosthenes allows 70,000 stades; Strabo, 67,500; and Pliny, about 70,100; and as Pliny, no doubt, copied the Greek numbers, the *ratio* may be taken at 700 to a degree throughout <sup>5</sup>. Hence the distances will be severally 6,000, 5,786, and 6,008 G. miles; and the greatest difference between the calculations and the actual distance, 417 miles; the least, that is, the calculation of Strabo, 195 only. And it is probable, that a greater proportion of inflexion ought to be allowed, which might bring the two accounts very near together <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> That is, 2,150 between the Promontory of *Sacrum* (Cape St. Vincent) and *Issus*; 2,820 between *Issus* and the mouth of the Ganges, or supposed eastern extremity of Asia.

<sup>5</sup> The reports of the distances by Eratosthenes and Strabo, lib. i. and ii. are collected by M. Gosselin, pages 12 and 13.

The numbers in Pliny (lib. ii. c. 108.) are from *Artemidorus*, who calculates the distance from *Cadiz* through *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, to *Issus*, and thence to the mouth of the Ganges, at 8,578 MP.; and on a second line, through *Cappadocia*, *Ephesus*, *Rome*, and *Spain*, &c. at 8,685.

The 8,578 multiplied by 8, give 68,624 stades; and adding 1,453 for the distance between *Cadiz* and Cape St. Vincent, the total is 70,082.

<sup>6</sup> The 67,500 stades of Strabo, agree to the ratio of 724 $\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree, reckoned on the *road distance* of 5,591 G. miles.

This furnishes another example of the fact advanced in page



To return to Alexander—it appears that his expedition had the effect of falsifying the geography of Asia, in *more* than *one* capital point, although it *added* so much to it in others. It would have afforded some triumph to Herodotus, could he have known, that persons of so much acuteness, and whose errand was almost as much discovery, as conquest, should, after visiting India, have left the geography of the East, as to *outline*, nearly as they found it; and should besides, have falsified it in point of *detail*: that is in respect of the Caspian sea, which Herodotus rightly described as a lake; but the fol-

31, *et seq.* that the ancients gave the distances across Asia, in *road* measure, and not in direct distance.

The record of distance in Pliny (lib. ii. 108.), between the supposed extremities of the earth, Cape St. Vincent, and the point at the mouth of the Ganges, is well worth remarking, even from the accordance of the two intervals of space, between Cadiz and Issus, Issus and the Ganges, in the calculation; with those on the actual geography. He reckons 5215 MP. between Myriandrus, at the gulf of Issus and the Ganges; and the whole distance from the Ganges to Cadiz, being 8,578, leaves 3,363 between Issus and Cadiz. Hence the proportions will be as follows: the distance between Cadiz and Issus, will be to that between the latter, and the mouth of the Ganges, as 27 to 42, and on the actual geography it is as 27 to 38, a near approximation for those times. It must be recollected that the Promontory of Cape St. Vincent is about 125 G. miles to the westward of Cadiz.

Pliny, in the same book, c. 109, gives, although in a whimsical way, the idea of *Dionysidorus*, a mathematician of *Melis*, on the semidiameter of the earth. He supposed it to be 42,000 stadia, giving a circumference of 263,894; consequently, a degree should have consisted of 733 stades, whilst our mean result is 718; that of Strabo, given above, 724 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

lowers of Alexander, as a gulf of the Northern ocean!

In assigning the limits of the knowledge of Herodotus in ASIA, we must therefore leave out on the chart of modern geography, all *China*, the *Chinese* and *Western Tartary*, *Thibet*, and the *Peninsula beyond the Ganges*; together with the *greater* part of *Siberia*, and its appendages; that is to say, by far the largest part of that vast continent. Such are the outlines of the Asia of our Author, as described in his work, as it now stands: and before we proceed to quote his *brief* description of the several regions of it (known to him), it will be proper to give a sketch of the natural division of the country, as to its *levels*, and the courses of its principal waters, between the Hellespont and India, the extreme limit of our Author's knowledge; for, it may be remarked, that (through whatsoever cause it may have been), he is singularly deficient, in respect of his description of the physical geography of Western Asia; in that he has totally omitted the chains of mountains from which it derives its chief character.

It may have been that too little was known of the physical geography, to enable Herodotus to furnish out a description of it; and it must be acknowledged, that if a judgment may be formed from what passed between Aristagoras and the King of Sparta, respecting the countries between Sardis and Susa, there is much ground for the above supposition; but then, Herodotus himself had travelled across a considerable part of Western Asia, and

therefore the surface of it ought in some degree to have been known *to him*.

It is pretty generally known, that the Greeks, after that the expeditions of Alexander and Xenophon had furnished so great a number of routes across Asia; conceived an idea that the chain of TAURUS, which originated at the shore of the Ægean sea, in Asia Minor, extended in a narrow, straight belt, keeping nearly in the same parallel, throughout the whole continent of Asia; and that it terminated on the shore of a *supposed* Eastern ocean, which washed the extreme border of India<sup>7</sup>.

TAURUS, amongst the *latter* Greeks, and the Romans, was famous both as a *natural*, and as a *political* boundary. It was a line of separation, as it were, between two worlds; and was to the Roman empire, in latter times, what the ALPS were at an earlier period. Properly speaking, it was the collective term for that great ridge, which was supposed to divide Asia into *two climates*; and which, although broken at times into two or more distinct chains, and occasionally varying in its general direction, yet, either through the want of a clear knowledge of particulars, or for the sake of expressing a collective idea, the *whole* was called Taurus; at the same time that different portions of it had distinct names. Its separation and divergence, however, often rendered the application of these names diffi-

<sup>7</sup> See Strabo, lib. xi. xii. and xvi., but more particularly the latter end of the xith and beginning of the xiith.

cult ; and, upon the whole, it can only be supposed that the ancients originally formed their ideas of the nature and direction of Taurus at large, from that part of it which lies within *Asia Minor* ; where it indeed preserves a greater degree of unity than elsewhere. This was the part most familiarly known to them ; and they might (as is not unusual) extend the idea to the parts which they had *not* seen.

The Taurus of the ancients, then, under the particular names of *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Caspian*, *Paropamisus*, *Caucasus*, *Emodus*, &c. originated in the SW extremity of Asia Minor, through which tract it passed at no great distance from the shores of the *Levant* ; and thence, in its course eastward, separated *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia* ; the *two Medias* from each other ; and the *Greater Media* from the narrow tract, along the southern border of the Caspian sea.

Opposite to the south end of the Caspian, it was partly divided by a vast *chasm*, denominated the *Caspian Strait*, through which lay the best passage from Media, Mesopotamia, and the *western* kingdoms in general, to Parthia, Hyrcania, Aria, and the remainder of those in the East<sup>s</sup> ; as by it, the great deserts to the south were avoided.

<sup>s</sup> The Caspian strait was with the ancients a geographical point of importance, and was supposed to be in the same parallel with Issus and Rhodes.

This remarkable chasm is now called the Strait or Passage of *Khonar* (*Choara* of the ancients), from a town or district in the neighbourhood. It is situated at the termination of the great Salt Desert, almost due north from Ispahan, and about 50 miles

Passing the south-east corner of the Caspian sea, Taurus was *understood* to separate in its eastern course, the countries of Parthia, Margiana, and Bactria, from those of Aria<sup>9</sup>, Drangiana, and the western provinces of India, watered by the *heads* of the Indus. Here their knowledge of the detail ended; and beyond this point, it was supposed to divide *Scythia* from *India*; taking both these countries at large, and as occupying the remainder of the space in the habitable world eastward.

We have here endeavoured to express the general ideas of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Ptolemy; and they were so far right, as that certain high ridges of mountains (though differing exceedingly in the scale

to the eastward of the ruins of Rey (or *Rages*.) Alexander passed through it in his way from Rages towards Aria and Bactria.

Della Valle and Herbert amongst the moderns, Pliny amongst the ancients, have described it particularly. It is eight miles through, and generally forty yards in breadth. Pliny says, lib. vi. c. 14, that it is only wide enough for a carriage; and Della Valle, Vol. iii. that in places where it is narrowest, and winds withal, a *litter* can scarce pass. The mountains are very high on each side. The bottom is generally flat, and at certain seasons, a considerable stream of salt water flows towards the desert on the south. It must be remarked, that the chasm does not intersect the great body of the Caspian mountains, but only the inferior ridges.

<sup>9</sup> Eratosthenes and Strabo supposed that *Aria* lay to the south of the continuation of *Taurus*. This appears to be a mistake, as far as our information goes. Ptolemy had the same idea; but then he includes in *Aria*, the lake of *Zurrah*, which is really in *Drangiana*, a country separated from *Aria*, by the mountains in question.

of height), are found in these positions ; but neither do the highest chains of summits follow the direction supposed, nor is the termination of the high region in the same parallel with its commencement, but much more to the north. As a proof of the first assertion, the Euphrates (the principal drain of Armenia), springs from the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, and after a considerable length of course southward, *penetrates Taurus* <sup>1</sup>, which must therefore, of course, be *lower* than the region towards the Euxine. And, in fact, it seems to be proved, by the course of the river *Melas*, that the superiority of level at the source of the Euphrates, near Trebizonde, is continued obliquely across the Isthmus of Natolia from Caucasus to Taurus, passing above the heads of the Phasis, Cyrus, Araxes, Euphrates, &c. by *Cæsaria (Mazaca)* ; and of which mount *Argæus* was a part <sup>2</sup>. And hence it may be concluded, that in the application of the name, to the continuation of Taurus, the ancients were influenced more by the *apparent*, than the *actual*, elevation : for there is no question that the highest level lies to the north, yet Taurus rises from the plains of Mesopotamia with more *apparent* altitude than the mountains of Armenia, from the plain of Erzeroum.

Such was the system of the ancients respecting Taurus : but it conveys no idea of the *general*

<sup>1</sup> This is particularly described by Pliny ; lib. v. c. 24. He says that the base of Taurus is 12 miles in breadth.

<sup>2</sup> The ancients had an idea that from the summit of mount *Argæus* both of the seas could be seen. Strabo, page 538.

*levels* of the countries, since the ridges alone, had they been ever so correctly described, are no more than the *higher* parts of elevated *regions*; which *regions themselves*, and not merely their *summits*, are the marked features of the continent.

To begin with the *Peninsula of Asia*, or Asia Minor, inclosed between the Mediterranean, Ægean, and Euxine seas, on three sides, and on the fourth by an imaginary line, drawn across the Isthmus from *Amisus* to *Issus*—this is an elevated tract, of which the southern part, towards the Mediterranean, is by far the highest, being the *proper* Taurus itself, which rises abruptly from the neighbourhood of the sea coast, turning the courses of the principal waters towards the Euxine and Ægean seas, and leaving a succession of narrow tracts between it and the sea: that is, Cilicia, Pamphylia, &c.

The next portion of space is yet more elevated; and is properly an extension of the former to the Caspian sea, and to the space between it and the Euxine, generally; it being bounded on the south by an imaginary line, drawn from the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, to the south part of the Caspian.

On the north, it terminates in the region of Caucasus, which overlooks the *Sarmatian* plains; in other words, the desert of Astrakan, and the country of the Don Cossacks. And hence it happens, that the northern parts, both of the Euxine and Caspian, are situated in a low tract of country<sup>3</sup>. Southward,

<sup>3</sup> It may be remarked, that this low tract is, in effect, a part of a *zone* of low land, that extends generally through Europe and

the region in question overlooks the vast *hollow* space, in which are contained the countries of *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Babylonia* (in effect the ASSYRIA of our Author and of Strabo); and, finally, the *Great Arabian Desert*.

The political divisions of this region are, the eastern part of Cappadocia, Armenia, Pontus, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, the country of the Carduchians, and *Media Atropatia*<sup>4</sup>. It appears to be the *highest level of Western Asia*; giving rise to the Euphrates, Tigris, Cyrus, Araxes, Hypanis (or Kuban), Phasis, &c. which flow in different directions, and discharge themselves into the Euxine, Palus Mæotis, Caspian, and Persian gulf; and the Euphrates itself flows towards the Mediterranean till it is turned aside by Amanus, within 100 miles of the gulf of Issus<sup>5</sup>. On

*Western Asia*. That, in like manner, a zone of elevated ground, corresponding with that now under discussion, runs parallel to the above; and that, moreover, it is bordered on the south by another zone of a lower level, if we admit the Mediterranean and Persian seas to form a part of it.

These different levels must necessarily have a considerable effect on the winds and weather. Can it be supposed that the hollow zone, to the north of *Caucasus*, the *Bastarnian Alps*, the *Carpathian*, and *Hercynian* mountains, has any share in conducting the east wind of the Steppe to the west of Europe?

<sup>4</sup> Now *Aderbigian*. It is probable that the name *Atropatia*, which Strabo (page 522) says, was derived from *Atropatus*, a Macedonian general, was rather a corruption, or an imitation, of the other: which is said to be derived from the word *fire*; there having been a celebrated temple of the followers of *Zoroaster*, or the worshippers of fire, in the province.

<sup>5</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. iii. c. 9, says, that if *Taurus* (*Amanus*, it should be), did not prevent it, the Euphrates would



the higher parts of this region are the two great *salt* lakes of *Arsissa* and *Spauta* (Van and Maraga.)

Pursuing the course of the high level, from the quarter in which we left it, that is, *Media Atropatia*, it is found to extend eastward, till it joins with mount *Imaus*, which is situated beyond the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes; and which forms the western border of a *yet higher and more extensive* region, than either of the former.

This THIRD portion of the elevated region of Asia, is very unequal in point of breadth. In the western quarter it is necessarily limited by the approach of the Caspian and Persian seas towards each other, but expands to a much greater breadth beyond the Caspian, till again narrowed into a kind of *Isthmus*, by the vallies through which the Oxus and Indus flow; and whose fountains are separated only by the high ridge of *Caucasus*, or *Hindoo-Kho*.

Media (the present *Al Jebal* or *Irak Ajami*) is contained within that part situated between the Caspian sea and the Persian gulf; and is bordered on each side, towards the sea coasts, and towards *Assyria* (taken at large, according to our Author) by lower tracts of land; those towards the west and south-west, comprising *Babylonia* and *Susiana*; and

have run into the Mediterranean. But, as it afterwards runs about 800 miles before it reaches the Persian gulf, and in its way descends a vast number of rapids, which prevent the navigation upwards, it must needs be on an exceeding high level above the Mediterranean, at the place where it approaches nearest to that sea.

on the north the provinces of the Cadusi, Tapuri, and Hyrcani, along the winding shores of the Caspian. But, of the part between the *two* seas, the low country forms only an inconsiderable proportion.

The highest ground in this tract lies towards the Caspian sea, as is shewn by the course of the waters of Media, which generally flow southward, into the Persian gulf, through Susiana <sup>6</sup>.

From Media, and the Caspian and Persian seas, eastward, the high level, as we have said, expands, with the country in general; but we are not in possession of the knowledge requisite to mark its borders with the same precision as on the west. It appears, however, to be very irregular in its form, and has many deep cavities in it: in particular, that which contains the course of the Heermund river, and the lake of Zurrah, in which it terminates; the beautiful valley of Soghd (the *Sogdiana* of the ancients, and one of the earthly paradises of the Orientals;) and the plain of Rey (*Rages*) which terminates eastward in the great salt desert situated between *Media* and *Aria*.

The particulars known for certain respecting the extent and boundaries of this portion of the high level, are the following:

That the northern part, between the Caspian sea and mount Imaus, contains the ancient *Parthia*, *Margiana*, and *Sogdiana*; which, collectively,

<sup>6</sup> It must necessarily be much elevated, for Della Valle says, that at *Hamadan*, the ancient *Ecbatana*, the ink froze in the room in which he was sitting.

overlook towards the north, the low countries of *Chorasmia*, and the seats of the *Massagetæ*, at the *Jaxartes*.

That the middle part contains *Aria* and *Bactriana*: the latter of which has within it the heads of the river *Oxus*; and adjoins on the *east* to *Imaus*. And lastly, that the southern part contains *Persia proper*, *Carmania*, *Arachosia*, &c.; which are bordered towards the Persian gulf, and the *Erythræan* sea, by the low tract of Maritime *Persia* (now *Gurrumseer*), and by that of *Gedrosia*, or *Makran*.

The highest *continuous* ridge of this part appears to be that which passes by the south-east of the *Caspian* sea, and *Hyrcania*, between *Aria* on the north, and *Drangiana* on the south<sup>7</sup>: and from thence between *Bactriana* and the *Indian* provinces; where, as it approaches towards *Imaus*, which (as has been said) forms a part of a *yet more* elevated region, it swells to a great bulk and height, and is covered with snow till the month of August. This is properly the *Indian Caucasus* of the Greeks: in modern language *Hindoo-Kho*.

Thus we have extended our view of the levels eastward, to the extent of the space within the knowledge of Herodotus: and before we complete our view of the subject, by extending it to the shores of the eastern ocean, we shall say a word concerning the lateral ridges, which project *southward* from the great *Eastern* chain, so as to form a kind of vast

<sup>7</sup> See the note in page 230.

*bason* or *hollow*, inclosing *Assyria*<sup>8</sup> and *Arabia*, the *Persian gulf*, and the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which it receives : for the inequalities within this space are trifling in height, in respect of the mountains that surround it: particularly on the north.

From the body of Taurus, near the place where the Euphrates forces itself *through* it, at the northern extremity of Syria, a great ridge strikes to the south, inclining to the west, and first falling in with the Mediterranean at the gulf of Issus, it continues to skirt the eastern shore of that sea (like a mound or dam), under the names of Amanus, Lebanon, &c. to the southern border of Palestine. There, quitting the Mediterranean, it strikes towards the eastern coast of the Red sea, which it also shuts up, though at a greater distance than that at which it skirted the former, and with a less elevation : and finally terminates in *Arabia Felix*.

Again, from another part of Taurus, in the north-east quarter of Assyria, a second ridge projects to the south, forming the eastern side of the great *bason* (as Amanus and Lebanon the western, and Taurus itself, the northern). This was named by the Greeks *Zagros*: it has been before described (in page 235) as the western descent of the elevated region of Media; and as shutting up Assyria, Babylonia, and Susiana, on the east and north-east. At the eastern border of Susiana, it approaches near the

<sup>8</sup> That is, according to the ideas of Herodotus and Strabo, above quoted.

Persian gulf, which it shuts up on the side towards Persia; leaving only a narrow tract of lower land between; (that is, *Gurramseer*: see page 236); and also occasionally detaching lateral branches to the sea coast.

It finally terminates at the *neck*, or entrance of the Persian gulf: which entrance, between the ancient *Harmozia* (Ormuz) and the promontory of *Maceta* (Mussendom), seems to be nothing more than a *breach* in this wall of mountains; which is known to continue its course southward, through *Omman*, to a considerable distance, but which we have no authority for describing. It may possibly join to the mountains of Arabia Felix.

Thus the Persian gulf, and the courses of the Mesopotamian rivers, occupy the NE part of this bason: and independently of the irrefragable proofs of the declining of the level eastward, from the Mediterranean to the Persian gulf, in the position of the latter sea, and in the courses of the waters; the travellers across the desert from Aleppo to Bussorah, remark the sinking of the levels eastward; and that, not by a gradual slope (which might escape their observation), but by distinct steps or degrees; of which one remarkable one is at *Taiba*, and another opposite to *Hit*. They remark also, a tract of deep sand, in the quarter towards Bussorah; together with what appears to be the ancient line of the sea coast, at the termination of this sandy tract, in the Chaldean desert. It is not improbable that the same kind of slope extends all the way across the Arabian desert, between the upper part of the Red

sea and the Persian gulf. We shall now pursue, in a general way, the trace of the high level, from the place where we left it, to the Eastern ocean, in order that the subject may not be concluded too abruptly.

The ridge of IMAUS above mentioned (page 234) is properly the western declivity of a prodigious high level, which may be regarded as the firm body of Eastern Asia. It occupies a vast space in the central part of Asia, between *Persia*, *India*, *China*, and *Tartary*; and from the borders of which the great rivers of that continent descend in every direction; from the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes* on the west, to the *Amur* on the east; and from the *Ganges* and *Burrampooter* on the south, to the *Oby* and *Jenisea* on the north. This vast upland tract (the highest region, perhaps, of the old hemisphere), contains generally, the country of the *Kalmucs*, of the *Monguls*, *Thibet*, and Eastern *Turkestan*. The countries that surround this tract, taken in a very general view, may be regarded as placed on a kind of *hanging levels*, or descents, along the skirts of it; since the waters flow so uninterruptedly from every side, to the surrounding seas or lakes. Those amongst them, which flow through the parallels subject to the periodical rainy season, have, by their *alluvions*, added vast plains, equal themselves to kingdoms, near the sea coasts; but the operation of alluvion proceeds but slowly, by such rivers as do not undergo very great alterations in their bulk at different seasons; and such are those to the north. The greatest alluvions in Asia, therefore, are formed by those streams which descend from the southern

part of the elevated region in question; that is, between Persia and China, which are so situated as to receive the supplies of rain brought by the southerly monsoons<sup>9</sup>.

To conclude the subject of the high level—there are several ramifications of it that extend eastward and north-eastward, to the Eastern ocean; in particular, one at the gulf of Korea, above Pekin: and another at the gulf, or sea, of Ochotz, opposite Kam-schatka: one of those may be taken for the final termination of *Taurus*, eastward. That point, however, in the idea of the ancients, occupied the same parallel with Rhodes and the Caspian strait; and nearly the same meridian with the mouth of the Ganges; the continent of Asia being supposed to terminate there.

The reader will naturally conclude, that, in the above description, a very general idea only is intended; and that many tracts of *high* land, as well as *plains*, are purposely omitted, as being of little importance to the general result, whilst they might render it less intelligible. Such is the tract of high land in the south of India, separated from the high region, by the great valley of the Ganges; that also which divides *India* from *China*; and others in China and Siberia. Our aim was chiefly to explain the circumstances of Western Asia, and particularly that part which was the most relevant to the subject

<sup>9</sup> This ought not to excite surprise, when it is known that the quantity of rain which falls within the tract of the monsoons, is, in most instances, *double*, and in some *triple*, the quantity that falls in England.

of our Author. It may not, however, be useless to account for the *opposite* courses of the great waters of Siberia, and those of Russia, between the parallels of  $45^{\circ}$  and  $60^{\circ}$ : that is, the Siberian waters run to the north, the Russian to the south. In effect, the Siberian waters not only originate from a higher level than the others, but continue their courses along a descent, which is in every part higher, until it approaches the frozen sea. So that the whole of Siberia occupies a higher level than *Russia*, and the *Southern Steppe*; whilst the declivities of the two levels are in opposite directions, and would, if *produced*, *intersect* each other's plane: the Siberian level declining to the north, the Russian to the south (from the parallel of  $60^{\circ}$ ); so that the former is exposed, throughout its whole extent, to the northern blasts; the latter is in *part* sheltered.

Another circumstance respecting this level, appears worthy of consideration. It has already appeared in this and other parts of the work, that the whole body of *Eastern Asia*, from the southern front of mount *Emodus*, which overlooks India, to the neighbourhood of the frozen sea, stands on a *higher* level than the *western* part; and that the *western border* of this high level is mount *Imaus*, which is continued under various names, through the Great Steppe<sup>1</sup>; and thence *northward* to the coast opposite *Nova-Zembla* (which may itself, be regarded as a continuation of the *chain*). So that the

<sup>1</sup> The rampart of Gog and Magog was near the foot of these mountains.



border of this level lies in a direction not very far from the meridian, for the space of 40 degrees at least, from the heads of the Ganges, to Waygat's Straits.

There is also reason to suspect that China is on a higher level than the lands on the west. It is well known, from the improvements in modern geography, that the high region of Thibet, &c. adjoins to China on the west; and that from it a mountainous ridge, or region, extends south or south-eastwards, separating the Peninsula of India *beyond* the Ganges, from China. The great waters of China all run to the east; those of the Peninsula to the south; a strong indication of different levels, and it cannot well be supposed that China is the *lowest* of the two, when the astonishing length of course of the *Kian Ken* is considered; and moreover that China is a colder region than India, in corresponding parallels.

## SECTION IX.

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### THE SUBJECT OF ASIA, CONTINUED.

*Brief Description of the four Regions of Asia, by Herodotus—Observations on his Arrangement—His error in the relative Positions of the four Seas, the Mediterranean, Euxine, Caspian, and Persian, to each other—continued to the time of Strabo—Source of it—This error, one principal cause of the Wanderings of the Ten Thousand—Error of Herodotus in appreciating the Breadth of the Isthmus of Natolia—His ideas respecting the Positions of Persia, Media, Assyria, and Arabia—The latter given under too confined Limits, by most of the Ancients—Aria, Bactriana, Parthia—Caspian Sea, properly described as a Lake—its Hydrography corrected—Great Plain in Asia described—Aria Palus, the Lake of Zurrah—Sarangæans, or People of Sigistan—Erythræan, or Indian Sea—Arabian and Persian Gulfs, Members of it—Arabian Gulf first took the name of Erythræan, or Red; and the last that has preserved it—Erythræans, the same as Tyrians—Euxine Sea—Errors of Herodotus respecting its Dimensions—compared in Form to a Scythian Bow—Its Hydrography corrected—Principal Rivers in Western Asia—Gyndes divided by Cyrus—The Araxes of Herodotus meant for the Jaxartes.*

AFTER the long digression from the immediate matter of our Author's work, at the conclusion of the last section, we proceed to give his short description of the several regions of Asia, known to him: reserving, however, the detail of the TWENTY SATRAPIES of DARIUS HYSTASPES, for a separate investigation.

Herodotus sets out with describing FOUR REGIONS in ASIA ; Melpom. 37, *et seq.*

I. The FIRST region included the space between the *two seas*, the gulf of Persia and the eastern part of the Euxine ; and contained “ the region occupied by the *Persians*, which extends southward to the *Red sea* : (*i. e.* the Erythræan or Indian sea.) Beyond these, to the north, are the *Medes* : and next to them the *Sapirians*. Contiguous to the latter, and where the *Phasis* empties itself into the *northern sea* (Euxine), are the *Colchians*. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas <sup>1</sup>.”

II. “ From *hence* to the *west*, two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea : the one on the north side commences at the *Phasis* <sup>2</sup>, and extends to the sea, along the *Euxine* and the *Hellespont*, as far as the *Sigeum* of *Troy*. On the south side, it begins at the *Marandynian bay* <sup>3</sup>, contiguous to *Phœnicia* ; and is continued to the sea, as far as the *Triopian Promontory* <sup>4</sup>. This space of country is inhabited by 30 different nations.” Melpom. 38.

<sup>1</sup> It may be proper to advertise the reader, in this place, that Herodotus supposes the *Phasis* to be nearly under the same meridian as the head of the gulf of Persia.

<sup>2</sup> Here we have a proof that the Asia of Herodotus did not extend to the northward of the river *Phasis*. The proof is rendered more strong by the whole context of the chapters 37, 38, 39.

<sup>3</sup> This ought to be the *Myriandrian bay*, or bay of *Myriandrus* : in other words, the gulf of Issus. *Marandynia* was a part of *Bithynia*, and extended along the Euxine.

<sup>4</sup> This was the Promontory of Asia Minor, opposite to the island of *Coos*. The territory of *Cnidus* was named *Triopium* : Clio, 174. There was a temple consecrated to Apollo, on the promontory of *Triope*, where games were celebrated ; Clio, 144.

III. "The *other* district (of the *two* above mentioned) commences in *Persia*, and is continued to the Red sea <sup>5</sup>. Besides *Persia*, it contains *Assyria* and *Arabia*, naturally terminating in the *Arabian* gulf, into which Darius introduced a channel of the Nile. The interval from *Persia* to *Phœnicia* is very extensive. From *Phœnicia* it again continues beyond *Syria* of *Palestine*, as far as *Egypt*, where it terminates. The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only. Such is the division of *Asia* from *Persia*, westward." Melpom. 39.

IV. "To the *east*, beyond *Persia*, *Media*, the *Sapinians* <sup>6</sup>, and *Colchians*, the country is bounded by the *Red* sea <sup>7</sup>; to the *north* by the *Caspian* and the river *Araxes*, which directs its course towards the *east* <sup>8</sup>. As far as *India*, *Asia* is well inhabited: but from *India*, eastward, the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored." Melp. 40.

Thus we have the *subdivisions* of *Asia*, as known

<sup>5</sup> That is, the *Erythræan* sea at large, or the sea between *India* and *Arabia*: not the *Arabian* gulf.

<sup>6</sup> These are called *Sapinians*, *Sapirians*, and *Saspises* (or *Saspirians*), in different places; but all have a reference to the same people, who were situated between *Media* and *Colchis*.

<sup>7</sup> He can hardly mean, that the sea in question bounded this tract on the *east*, because it contradicts the rest of the statement; which implies, that *India* lies to the *east* of this tract. He must have meant "the country on the east of *Persia*," &c.

<sup>8</sup> We must read *west*; because, by implication, in *Clio*, 202, 204, the *Araxes*, on which the *Massagetæ* are situated, runs into the *east* side of the *Caspian*. It will appear, in the sequel, that he confounds the Eastern *Araxes* (meaning the *Jaxartes*) with the *Araxes* of *Armenia*.

to Herodotus. The first remark that arises, on a view of this statement, is, that the Author had not a just idea of the relative positions of the Euxine and Caspian sea, to the Mediterranean sea, and Persian *gulf* (or rather *sea*, as he did not know that it formed a *gulf* there). For he supposes the Caspian sea to be situated to the *east* of the meridian of Persia; in Melpom. 40; whence the position of *Colchis*, in respect of *Persia* and *Media*, is inferred to be *opposite* to, or in the *same* meridian with *them*: for such a position, the description evidently intends. (The reader is requested to turn to the Maps No. I. and II.) Not that the space between *Ionia* and *Susa* (a route well known to our Author, as will appear in a future discussion) was *contracted* by this arrangement; for the prolongation of the Euxine, westward, beyond the truth, made up in space for the false adjustment of the *east end* of that sea. But, on the other hand, the breadth of Arabia and Assyria were contracted very far within their proper bounds, by the error of supposing the mouth of the Nile and Cilicia to stand opposite to each other; Euterpe, 34; but more particularly by the deficiency of distance between Egypt and Babylon, as will appear presently. The consequences of these errors were, that a more northerly direction was given, both to the Arabian gulf, and the eastern side of the Mediterranean.

Several of these errors remained to the days of Strabo; for even the materials collected during Alexander's expedition, did not enable geographers to correct the *whole* error in the relative positions

of the Caspian, Euxine, and Persian seas, to each other, and to the Mediterranean. The true cause appears to have been, that no direct line of distance from *Canopus* to *Babylon* could be obtained, because the nature of the intervening ground (the Arabian desert) prevented it; and although the meridians of *Canopus* and the *Sacrum* Promontory (of *Lycia*) were pretty well adjusted in respect of each other<sup>9</sup>, yet, as the line to Babylon, from the former, passed circuitously through Thapsacus and Arbela, a vast error in the direct distance (almost unavoidably) arose, through the default of means, to ascertain the various inflexions of the line of distance. Hence Eratosthenes allowed no more than 5,600 stadia, of 700 to a degree, between *Heroopolis* and Babylon, which is short of the truth by about *one fourth*. So that although Babylon was really more than 3° of longitude to the *eastward* of the mouth of the Phasis, in Colchis, yet the just-mentioned error, which amounted to 3° 3' (it being 156 G. miles), threw it somewhat to the *west* of the Phasis, on the Map<sup>1</sup>.

An error of the like kind, or perhaps a continua-

<sup>9</sup> It was understood that these places were situated under the same meridian.

<sup>1</sup> But it is, perhaps, yet more remarkable that an error in the relative positions of the Caspian and Persian seas, should have existed to the present times. M. D'Anville placed the NW part of the Caspian *two degrees* of longitude too far to the east, in respect of the Persian gulf, by means of an error in the reported longitude of Astrakan. And yet the Arabian and Persian Tables have it right. The above error had the effect of distorting the space, generally, between the Caspian sea and Constantinople.

tion or extension of the former one, by Eratosthenes and Strabo, was the act of placing the Caspian strait (the pass through the *continuation* of mount Taurus, see above, page 229,) in about the same meridian with the *entrance* of the Persian gulf, although it is really 4 or 5 degrees to the *west* of it. We have no doubt that the 8,000 stadia allowed by Strabo, page 727, between that strait and the southern extremity of Persia, was meant for *difference* of *latitude*, in like manner as those lines between *Canopus* and the *Sacrum* Promontory (of Lycia), *Issus* and *Amisus*.

An additional proof of the supposed easterly position of the Caspian sea, even to the time of Strabo, is the distance given by him, between *Seleucia* (at the Tigris) and *Hyrcania*, through *Artemita* (in Babylonia), which is 8,500 stadia (compare Strabo, page 529 and 744), although 6,000 appear more than sufficient.

We have given these instances of the errors of the Greeks, which were continued to the period of the writings of Eratosthenes and Strabo; and although they do not *absolutely prove* that Herodotus lay under the same error, yet the context of his geography has the *same kind* of derangement, and apparently to an equal *extent*; but as he gives no measures in this place, the quantity of his error cannot be ascertained, although it may be inferred.

The source of these errors was the difficulty of adjusting the meridians of different places, previous to the discovery of the polarity of the magnet, and of the improved and facile mode of taking observa-

tions of longitude. To these causes the rapid improvements in modern geography have been owing; and to the absence of them, that ancient geography has at all times been more deficient in the adjustment of the *meridians* than of the *parallels*.

It is not at all improbable that the error in the meridional distance, between the Persian gulf and the Euxine, was the cause of Xenophon's keeping too far to the *east*, in his way through Armenia, towards *Trebizonde*. He, no doubt, adhered to the geographical system then in vogue in Greece (such as is given by Herodotus); and expected to find Trebizonde nearly in the same meridian with Babylon and Nineveh, although it bore about N 30° W from the latter. Alexander, by the same rule, must have supposed himself *nearer* to the Euxine, than he really was, when at the Jaxartes, which some of the Greeks actually took for the Tanais<sup>2</sup>.

The next error of magnitude in Herodotus, but which, however, had no material effect on the general system, was his supposing the *Isthmus* of Natolia (between the gulfs of Issus and Amisus) to be narrower than it really is, by near one half. He says, Clio 72, that "an *active man* could not travel in *less* than *five* days over this space;" and in Eu-

<sup>2</sup> Besides the mistake of 5° of longitude, in the first instance, it may be conceived that the geography of Alexander's land march, which had so many inflexions in it, might be very erroneous, when they had no guide for the line of direction, save the sun and stars. It is therefore possible, that they might suppose themselves to be no farther distant from the *Mæotis*, than the space occupied by the *course* of the *Tanais*.



terpe, 34, that " a good traveller *may* pass from the mountains of Cilicia (Taurus) to Sinope, in *five* days." Now it appears from the late observations of M. Beauchamp, who found the latitude of Sinope to be  $42^{\circ} 2'$ , instead of  $41^{\circ} 4'$ , as M. D'Anville places it<sup>3</sup>, that the Isthmus is not less than  $4^{\circ}$  of latitude across, or 240 G. miles. This would require a rate of  $55\frac{1}{2}$  British miles in direct distance, and certainly more than 60 by the road, for each day; a rate of travelling *on foot* which our Author certainly had not in contemplation. And it may be conceived, that little more than half of this rate, that is, 33 miles by the road, is an ample allowance for a courier on foot, when the journey is continued five days; and this is the rate at which the Indian couriers do actually travel<sup>4</sup>. In consequence, Herodotus could not suppose the Isthmus to be more than 125 G. miles in breadth; that is, 115 less than the truth.

Eratosthenes allows 3,000 stadia<sup>5</sup>, or 257 G. miles, which is not greatly beyond the truth, if taken as *direct* distance, and at the standard of 700 to a degree; and if as *road* distance, somewhat less

<sup>3</sup> It is in justice due to Mr. Arrowsmith, geographer, to mention, that in his Map of Europe lately published, and drawn before the observation of M. Beauchamp at *Sinope* was known, he had actually placed *Sinope* within 3 or 4 minutes of the observation in question. We understand that he was led to this determination, by some surveys taken by Mr. Eaton (author of the *View of the Turkish Empire*), between Constantinople and *Karempi Boroun*, or the Promontory of *Carambis*.

<sup>4</sup> See the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, section vii.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, page 68.

than the truth, as 228 would be the result, allowing  $\frac{1}{9}$  for inflexions. So that Eratosthenes, at any rate, was not far from the truth.

Ptolemy, at a later date than Eratosthenes, gives a breadth of  $6\frac{1}{2}^0$  to the Isthmus, in the line between the gulfs of Tarsus and Amisus. Pliny has 200 MP. only, vi. c. 2; which falls below Herodotus. Concerning a part so well known, one is surprised to find such a variety of statements; for it seems, that the breadth was well known from the marches of Alexander, as the statement of Eratosthenes may be supposed to be founded on it.

Of the *length* of Asia Minor, and, generally speaking, of the proportions of its parts, bating the above error, Herodotus was probably well informed. He was *at home* in Iönia (as well as on the opposite side of the *Ægean* sea); for his account of the Satrapies of Darius shews that he knew Asia Minor in detail, although he might never have crossed the Isthmus. He, as well as some others, called it the Asiatic *Chersonesus*, or Peninsula, which name the *supposed* form warranted. In Melpom. 12, he places *Sinope* in this *Chersonesus*.

With respect to his FOUR GRAND DIVISIONS of ASIA<sup>6</sup>, we shall offer the following general remarks and corrections; meaning, however, to be more particular in the account of the Satrapies.

In the FIRST division or region, the Author obviously meant to include in Persia the fertile part of *Carmania*, under the name of *Germania*, and appa-

<sup>6</sup> See above, page 244.

rently *Susiana* also, under the name of Cissia, or Kissia. Media includes *both* the countries of that name (*Major* and *Atropatia*), together with Elymais, Matiene, the Saspire, or *eastern* part of Armenia, and part of Iberia. Also Colchis, and with it, many of the *Caucasian* nations. It would have been more correct to have called this the tract between the THREE seas, Euxine, Erythræan, and Caspian, instead of the two seas, by which the two former are intended.

The second region comprised the *Western* Armenia and Asia Minor, as is evident from the context. The *Eastern* Armenia we have seen included in the *Saspire*. In Terpsichore, 52, the Euphrates divides *Armenia* from *Cilicia*, in the road from Sardis to Susa<sup>7</sup>. Consequently *Upper* Mesopotamia is reckoned here, as in some other places, to *Armenia*; for instance, in Clio, 194, where the boats are said to “descend from Armenia to the province of *Babylonia*,” by the Tigris. We must regard mount Taurus as the southern boundary of this region, although not expressed as such<sup>8</sup>. It has already been said, that our Author is deficient in his attention to this principal feature in the geography of Asia, as he only mentions it incidentally; that is, he calls Taurus the mountains of *Cilicia*, in Euterpe, 34; the mountains *above* *Ecbatana*, in Media, in another place;

<sup>7</sup> It will be explained hereafter, that *his* *Cilicia* included the northern provinces of *Syria*, that is, *Cyrhestica*, *Killis*, &c. as well as *Cilicia* *within* Amanus.

<sup>8</sup> Or, more critically, mount *Masius*, the southernmost branch of *Taurus*.

and those above the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, in a third.

The THIRD region contained the *south-west* part of Asia, included between the different seas, on all quarters except the *north*, where it was shut up by mount *Taurus*; and on the north-east by Media and Susiana. The Isthmus of Suez forms a trifling exception on the *west* also.

Within this division, under the name of ASSYRIA, are comprised not only Assyria *proper*, situated beyond the Tigris; but *Babylonia*, the tract between the Euphrates and Tigris (*afterwards* called *Mesopotamia*), and *Syria*. There was also included in it, *Arabia*, more extensive in itself than all the rest collectively; and moreover, the small, but interesting and important states of *Phœnicia*, and *Syria of Palestine*. And yet this vast extent of space was said to comprehend three nations only.

There is no question but that our Author supposed Arabia to be much less than the truth; in the first place, because he believed that the Persian gulf did not exist, and consequently might suppose that the sea-coast ran in a direct line from the mouth of the Euphrates, to the entrance of the Red sea; and secondly, because he supposed the head of the Red sea to be nearer to the Persian sea. But of the *length* of Arabia he was apprized, because he knew the extent of the Arabian gulf, and that Arabia *bordered* on it throughout.

The ancients in general thought Arabia of much less extent than it is. Pliny, vi. c. 28, compares the *Peninsula* of Arabia with *that* of Italy, in point of

*form* and *size*; and of *position*, in respect of the heavens. He was right only in the last particular. The Arabian gulf is about *twice* the length of Italy; and one is surprised that Pliny should have been under so great a mistake. But the context serves to shew that it was the common opinion that Arabia was less than it really is.

*Assyria* is the same with *Babylonia*, in Clio, 106, 178; Thalia, 155; and in other places. Both *Babylon* and *Nineveh* were reckoned Assyrian cities.

*Syria*, in the contemplation of Herodotus, was only a portion of *Assyria*. He distinguished the *Syrians* of *Palestine* from the *Syrians* of *Cappadocia*, but we do not find that he any where distinguishes *Syria proper* as a *separate* country from *Assyria*. Strabo reckons it a *part* of *Assyria*.

The remarkable fact of there being but *three* nations within this space, which includes Assyria, Persia, and Phœnicia, as well as Arabia, shews that the Arabians must have extended over the greater part of Assyria and Babylonia. Part of Mesopotamia was called Arabia by Xenophon and Pliny. Perhaps we may regard the whole of this region, except what lies to the east of the Tigris, as Arabia, on an extended scale.

The **FOURTH**, and last region of ASIA, lay to the *east* of Persia and Media, and was bounded on the *north* by the Caspian sea and river *Araxes*, (meaning the *Jaxartes*; or possibly there may be some confusion between it and the lower part of the *Oxus*;) on the *south*, by the *Erythræan* sea; and on the *east*, by the utmost known part of India.

The countries situated within these limits our Author does not *specify* : but it is obvious, by his account of the Satrapies, that most of the principal subdivisions were familiar to him : these were Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Saca, Zaranga, the countries of the Parycanians, and Ethiopians of Asia (under which are designed the Gedrosians) ; and other southern tribes : and finally, the Indians on both sides of the river Indus.

The Caspian sea is a principal feature in this region. This he rightly describes as a sea, distinct from all others ; that is, a lake ; Clio, 203. The dimensions given are not very different from the truth, only that the width is made too great, if meant of the Caspian *alone* : but as Alexander, and all the geographers from his time, to that of Delisle, included the *Aral* as a part of the Caspian, it is probable that Herodotus did the same, since he conducts the Jaxartes into the *Caspian*, and not into a *separate lake*. The length assigned to the Caspian, by our Author, is fifteen days' navigation for a *swift-oared* vessel ; and the breadth eight. The former, according to the idea that may be formed of the rate of sailing of ancient vessels, appears consistent ; but the breadth is too irregular to be reduced to rule.

The real length of this sea, which may now be regarded as pretty well known, is about 640 G. miles in a N by W, and S by E direction ; and it contracts no less than 130 miles at the northern neck, and to about 100 at the southern neck <sup>9</sup>. The fifteen days'

<sup>9</sup> In the Map No. V. the form and dimensions of the Caspian

voyage of our Author may perhaps approach towards 600. Eratosthenes and Strabo supposed it to be 6,000 stadia, equal to 515 miles. Like the Euxine, and other narrow seas, it has always been represented too wide.

By the description, we must understand that the position of its length was supposed to be nearly north and south; which, generally speaking, is pretty much the case: he says, "*Caucasus* bounds it on the *west*, the largest, and perhaps highest, mountain in the world, and inhabited by various nations;" Clio, 203. And, "it is bounded on the *east* by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the *Massagetæ*, (204.) — a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river *Aruxes* (*Jaxartes*) to the extreme parts of the East." (201.)

This knowledge concerning the unconnected state of the Caspian, in respect of other seas, was lost in the time of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny; but regained in that of Ptolemy, who restored its form of a lake, but under such dimensions and proportions as shew that the Aral was mistaken for a part of it<sup>1</sup>.

As the subject of the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* is intended to be spoken of fully in a separate chapter, under the head of EASTERN SCYTHIANS, of which they are members, we shall speak very generally of them

sea (as well as of the Euxine) are given according to the latest observations, and most improved construction.

<sup>1</sup> One is surprised to find in M. Gosselin, page 103, an idea that the Caspian was once joined to the North sea by a strait, according to the opinions of the Greek geographers!

in this place. To the Massagetæ are assigned the vast plains to the N and NE of the Sirr or Sirt river (the Jaxartes), the Caspian, and Aral; and to the west of the mountains of Imaus, or Kashgur: in other words, the principal seats of the Kirgees tribes in the present times.

The Sacæ were situated towards the upper parts of the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, by the testimony of authors who wrote posterior to Herodotus; but *he* places them in and about *Bactriana*. Sacæ was a term applied to Scythians in general, although it belonged in strictness to a tribe, subject, as it would appear, to the Persians; since they filled a conspicuous place amongst the crews in the naval armament of Xerxes.

Thus the Massagetæ and Sacæ occupied the north-eastern extreme of the habitable part of Asia, according to the system of our Author; but the former of the two were entirely independent of the Persian empire.

Herodotus gives rather a confused account of a large plain in this part of Asia. It was surrounded on every side by a *ridge of hills*, through which there were five different apertures: Thalia, 117. This plain, he says, belonged *formerly* to the Chorasians, who inhabited those hills, in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thoma-neans: but that after the subjection of these nations to Persia, it became the property of the GREAT KING. A great river, named *Aces*, flows from these hills, and was formerly conducted through the openings of the mountains, to water the above-mentioned



countries. That, on the Persians taking possession, they stopped up the passages, and thus formed the plain into a *sea*, or *great lake*, depriving the nations around of their accustomed share of water; who were therefore reduced to the most extreme distress; but were afterwards, on application to the king, supplied with the necessary quantity of water for their cultivation; after which the passages were again shut. And thus he compelled the payment of an additional tribute.

This story, so improbably told, seems to relate either to the river *Oxus*, or to the *Ochus*, both of which have undergone considerable changes in their courses; partly by the management of dams, partly by their own depositions. For they certainly flow near the countries of the Chorasmians, the Hyrcanians, and Parthians; but the Sarangæans, if taken for the people of *Zarang*<sup>2</sup>, that is, *Sigistan*, (as, no doubt, they ought to be,) are out of the question, as to any connection with these rivers.

But the country of Sigistan, (which is of a singular nature, as being a hollow tract surrounded by mountains, and having a river of considerable bulk (the Hindmend) flowing through it, and terminating in a lake, after forming vast alluvions,) may have been confounded with those through which the *Oxus* and *Ochus* flow. It seems, however, to be clearly understood that there is no outlet for the waters of the Hindmend; since the level of Sigistan is lower than

<sup>2</sup> *Zarang* appears in the Tables of *Nasereddin* and *Ulugbeig*; and no doubt represents the ancient capital of the *Zarangæi*. It is reckoned a very ancient city.

that of Korasan and Aria, through which the Oxus and Ochus flow.

The lake of Zurrah, into which the Hindmend discharges itself, is about 100 miles in length, and 20 broad at the widest part; and is said to be fresh<sup>3</sup>. The country through which the Hindmend flows has all the characteristics of the alluvial tracts, at the mouths of great rivers; as Egypt, Bengal, &c. This was the celebrated tract which is said to have formed the *appanage* of RUSTUM<sup>4</sup>; and whose inhabitants, from the relief which they afforded to CYRUS, after his Eastern expedition, were named *Euergetæ*, or benefactors; and had considerable privileges and immunities granted them, which Alexander had the generosity to confirm. Much more will be said on this subject, under the heads of *Sarangæans* and *Sacæ*, in the detail of the Satrapies.

Of the general form and extent of the *Erythræan* sea, (which, according to our Author, is that which washes the coasts of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Western* India, and terminates southward, at the extremities of Arabia and India,) he seems to have had some idea, by assigning a due length to the Arabian gulf, which opened into it; and by describing the land of India to extend a great way to the southward of the Indus; Thalia, 101. But as, on the other hand, he supposed Arabia to be the most southerly land of Asia, Thalia, 107, 115, he, of course, had no idea that

<sup>3</sup> The *Aria Palus* of Ptolemy.

<sup>4</sup> D'Herbelot, article *Segestan*. RUSTUM resided there; as it is said the kings of Persia did previous to their establishment at *Estakar*, meant for *Persepolis*.

India projected *so far* to the south, as it really does. The boundary of the Erythræan sea would therefore be a line drawn from the outlet of the Red sea, or Arabian gulf, to the south extremity of India. All beyond this line, southward, was by him called the *Southern* ocean; and that with strict propriety; for he must have supposed it to embrace *South Africa*, and afterwards to join the Atlantic, according to his own words, in Clio, 203; “the sea frequented by the Greeks, (*i. e.* the Mediterranean,) the Erythræan, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean.” The Southern ocean is pointedly marked, in Melpom. 42, where “the ships of Nechao (destined to surround Africa) took their course from the *Red* sea, and entered the *Southern* ocean.” Another indication of this ocean is in Thalia, 17, where “the *Macrobian Æthiopians* inhabit that part of *Libya* which lies towards the *Southern* ocean.”

Herodotus, as we have seen, denominates *Erythræan*, or *Red*, the whole of that sea which lies between India, Persia, and Arabia (our sea of *Omman*), together with its gulfs or bays. But he, notwithstanding, distinguishes the *Arabian gulf* very pointedly; as in Euterpe, 159, “that part of the *Arabian gulf* which is *near* the *Red* sea.” In the preceding chapter the *Arabian gulf* is said to be 1,000 stadia from the *North* sea, at Mount Casius. It is also called *Red* sea in the same place. Again, in Melp. 39 and 42, the *Arabian gulf* is discriminated.

But the *Persian gulf* he nowhere discriminates in this manner; and there is every reason to believe that the same man, who knew better than Strabo and

others what were the circumstances of the Caspian sea, did not believe that the Euphrates emptied itself into a gulf, closely shut up by a narrow strait, like the Arabian gulf, but into a corner, or bay, of the greater ocean. For he makes no distinction, as Strabo and others did (who derived their information from the expedition of Alexander, or the voyage of Nearchus), between a *Persian gulf* and an *Erythræan sea*; although he makes so clear a distinction between the Erythræan sea and the Arabian gulf. For he says, in Clio, 180, "the Euphrates pours itself into the *Red sea*:" the same is said of the Tigris, in Erato, 20. In Melpom. 37, "the region occupied by the *Persians* extends *southward* to the *Red sea*."

When he speaks of the islands of the *Red sea* (to which *exiles* were sent, and whose inhabitants accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece), he could only, from circumstances, mean the islands of the Persian gulf. See Thalia, 93, and Polym. 80. In Melp. 40, the *Red sea* bounds the country on the *east* of *Media* and *Persia*. Nothing but an *open sea* is here expressed; and it is probable that Herodotus knew of no distinction of the above kind. At the same time, the Persian gulf ought to have been known to those who knew the detail of the voyage of *Scylax of Caryandra*, from the Indus to the head of the Arabian gulf, as mentioned in Melpomene, 44.

As the Arabian gulf is the only part of this ocean that has retained, in modern times, the name of *RED SEA*, so we conceive it to have been the first that re-

ceived it. The country of *Edom*, or *Idumea*, bordered on the upper part of the Arabian gulf, and probably gave name to it, amongst the neighbouring people of *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*: and the Greeks, no doubt, obtained from the latter both the knowledge of this sea and its name *Edom*, or *Red*; which they translated into *Erythræan*<sup>5</sup>. Pliny says that the *Tyrians* were called *Erythræans* from their former place of abode, near the *Red* sea: that is, the Arabian gulf; lib. iv. c. 22. This, then, may readily be conceived to have been the origin of the name, as well amongst the Greeks as the Phœnicians and people of *Palestine*. Amongst the Jews we find “the *Red* sea in the land of *Edom*,” (1 Kings ix. 26.) and of “the sea shore in the land of *Edom*,” (2 Chron. viii. 17.)

The Greeks would naturally extend the name to as much of the adjoining seas as they became acquainted with: as, for instance, to the sea of *Omman*, and the *gulf of Persia*, as parts of it. The story of King *Erythras* and his tomb, in one of the islands of that gulf, may have been *invented* afterwards.

Arrian, whose ideas of the geography of this quarter of Asia seem to have been collected from the voyage of Nearchus, calls the Persian gulf the *Erythræan* sea: and if the story told by Nearchus could be credited, the name was first of all applied to this gulf; for he says, that the tomb of King *Erythras*, which was situated in one of its islands, gave occa-

<sup>5</sup> We have here the support of the venerable NIEBUHR, Arabia, p. 360, French edition.

sion to the gulf being named from that king. This, however, we regard as a tale. But Arrian, in other places, seems to regard the sea of OMMAN, at large, as the *proper* Erythræan sea: and speaks of the Persian and Arabian *gulfs*, merely as *such*; and as being distinct from the Erythræan sea itself.

Concerning the Euxine, or Black sea, it has already been stated (page 71), that our Author gives it much too extended dimensions; and that it was occasioned by his following an erroneous calculation of the Egyptian schœne (page 26). For he reckons it 11,100 stades in length, between the Bosphorus and the river Phasis; 3,200 or 3,300 in breadth, between Themiscyra and Sindica: Melp. 85, 86. But according to the map of M. ZACH, founded on the latest observations, this sea cannot be more than 600 G. miles in length, or about 7,200 stades, of our mean scale, 718<sup>6</sup>. Its greatest breadth is about half as much, in the line between *Amastris* and *Odessus*, near the mouth of the Borysthenes; and not in the place Herodotus mentions. However, he is not much out in the breadth itself, which may be taken at 3,600 stades. But he was wrong in his ideas of the relative positions of its coasts to each other, for he thought that the mouth of the Danube was oppo-

<sup>6</sup> In M. ZACH's Geographical Ephemeris (for July, 1798), there is a new map of the Euxine, constructed on the authority of the observations of M. Beauchamp, and those in the Mem. of the Academy of Petersburg, &c.

This publication, by M. ZACH, commenced with the present year; and promises to be of the greatest advantage to geography, as well physical as political, by its sending forth to the world, for the use of the present age, or preserving for that of a future one, a great collection of valuable materials.

site to Sinope; Sindica to the Thermodon river; and the Bosphorus of Thrace to the river Phasis.

Notwithstanding the opportunities that have occurred to Europeans, in latter times, the form and dimensions of this sea have been left, to the present time, more incorrect even than those of the Caspian. To give a few instances—the town of Sinope, and Promontory of Carambis, have been placed *one degree* of latitude too far to the *south*. The eastern bason of the Euxine has been represented 100 G. miles too wide, between the mouth of the Halys river, and the nearest opposite coast. And lastly, the narrowest part, between Carambis and the Krimea, is 30 too wide, where the whole width is no more than 113. The high land of the Krimea is visible from Carambis<sup>7</sup>.

Some of the ancients had an idea that the form of the Euxine was that of a *Scythian bow*, when *bent*<sup>8</sup>. The idea was not a bad one, if the Scythian bows were like those of the modern Turks: but then, it is to be considered, that the ancients supposed the south

<sup>7</sup> The error of Strabo was much greater, p. 125. He reckons the distance across 2,500 stadia, or 214 G. miles. It is wonderful how such a mistake could have happened, when one of the lands can be seen from the other.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, p. 125. He supposed the circumference of this sea to be 25,000 stadia; which was too high a calculation, by one-fourth.

In No. V. its form and dimensions may be seen, agreeably to M. Zach's idea. Its area cannot differ much from that of the Caspian sea; with which the reader may have an opportunity of comparing it in the same map.

It has since been found necessary to substitute the observations of Mr. Eaton, between Constantinople and Sinope.

coast to form nearly a right line; in which they were mistaken.

The principal rivers of Western Asia have been already spoken of, as known to Herodotus, in the course of our remarks. The Indus is said to be the second river that produces crocodiles (the Nile the first, we may suppose); but as he also mentions the great *African* river (our Niger), as producing abundance of these animals, this is, of course, the *third* river of the same kind. The Ganges he knew not.

The source of the Euphrates he places in Armenia; but that of the Tigris he does not point out, although he speaks of the sources of two of its adjuncts (the greater and lesser *Zab*, under the same name of *Tigris*), which flow from *Armenia* and *Matiene*. The Euphrates and Tigris are both said to fall into the Red sea; Clio, 180 and 189: and from the mode of expression, it may be understood, that they kept distinct courses to the sea, as they are known to have done in the time of Alexander; although, at no great distance of time afterwards, they became united, and joined the sea in a collective stream<sup>9</sup>.

The Euphrates and Tigris spring from opposite sides of mount Taurus, in Armenia: the former from the *upper* level, before described; the latter from the southern *declivity*; and certain of the sources of the two rivers are only separated by the summits of Taurus. And yet, notwithstanding this

<sup>9</sup> These facts are very clearly collected from the history of Nearchus's voyage, and from the testimonies of the ancient geographers. The Cyrus and Araxes, likewise, kept distinct courses in ancient times.



vicinity, the sources of the Tigris, by being in a *southern* exposure, (where the snow melts much earlier than at the *back* of the mountains, and in a more *elevated* situation,) occasion the periodical swellings of this river to happen many weeks earlier than those of the Euphrates. Of the two, the Tigris seems to be the largest body of water.

The river *Gyndes*, by the description given by Aristagoras (Terpsichore, 52), answers to the *Diala*, which joins the Tigris, just above *Modain* (the ancient *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, collectively); but this will not agree with the circumstance of CYRUS crossing it, in his way from Susa to Babylon; Clio, 189: for the *Diala* does not lie in the way. The *Gyndes*, which was *divided* by Cyrus, should rather be the river of Mendeli, which descends from the quarter of mount *Zagros*, and passes by the country of *Derne*, or *Derna*<sup>1</sup>, probably the *Darnea* of Herodotus, for he says, Clio, 189, that the *Gyndes* rises in the mountains of *Matiene*, and runs through the country of the *Darneans*, in its way to join the Tigris. (M. D'Anville supposed *Dainawar* to be meant, but in our idea the waters of *Dainawar* descend to *Susiana*.)

Considering the imperfect state of the Grecian geography in this quarter, it is not at all improbable that some error or confusion may have arisen concerning this river. To shew that our Author was not clear in his ideas of the relative positions, here,

<sup>1</sup> The country of *DERNA*, according to *Niebuhr*, adjoins to *PERSIA*, but belongs to the *TURKS*, and forms a part of *KURDISTAN*. Otter, i. 155, speaks of the river *Derne*, which falls into the river *Diala*: and in p. 175, of the *fort* of the same name.

we need only mention that the city of *Opis* is by him implied to stand in a situation *below* the confluence of the Tigris and Gyndes. Now, according to the history of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, *Opis* cannot stand so low even as the mouth of the *Diala*, for it was no less than 20 parasangas *above* *Sitace*<sup>2</sup>; which city appears pretty clearly to have stood *above* the mouth of the *Diala*, since the Greeks did not cross it in their way. The reader is here referred to the Map of Babylon and its environs, No. VI.

As to the story of *Cyrus* dividing the *Gyndes* into 360 channels, it is a very childish one, in the manner in which it is told: as, that *Cyrus* was displeased with the river for being the occasion of drowning one of the sacred horses; and therefore destroyed its character, as a river, by dispersing it into 360 artificial canals.

The motive, however, might possibly be this: *Cyrus* unexpectedly found the river swoln, and too deep to be forded, and might be unprovided with embarkations, by which his army might cross it. The remedy was the most natural imaginable, when so vast a multitude was assembled, by drawing off a large proportion of the water from its channel, in order to render it fordable. It was equally natural to employ at once as many people as possible on the work, which would give occasion to marking out a vast number of channels, on which they might all be employed at the same instant. The absurdity, then,

<sup>2</sup> *Anabasis*, lib. ii.

will only lie in the *manner* of accounting for the action itself. But if the reason of the thing will not account for it, we may quote an example in point, from our Author himself; in that of Cræsus dividing the stream of the Halys, during his expedition to Cappadocia, and previous to that of Cyrus against Babylon<sup>3</sup>.

The *Choaspes*, which passes by the city of *Susa*<sup>4</sup>, has a deep channel. It is the only river of *Susiana*, spoken of by our Author; and this being a *country of rivers*, in effect, the drain of Media, Elymais, Cossea, &c. and formed chiefly from alluvions, it may be collected from his silence, that the Greeks of his time knew little concerning it. The waters of the *Choaspes* are particularly celebrated, on the score of their being the particular beverage of the Persian kings<sup>5</sup>; Clio, 188. Here it may be remarked, that

<sup>3</sup> Clio, 75. "Whilst Cræsus was hesitating over what part of the river he should attempt a passage, as there was *no bridge* constructed, THALES (the Milesian) divided it into two branches," &c.

<sup>4</sup> It is proper to remark, that the position of this ancient and celebrated city has been hitherto fixed at the present *Tostar*, or *Suster*; but, differing from our brethren, we have placed it at *Sus*, 44 G. miles more to the NW, or nearer to Babylon. The reason for this alteration cannot, with propriety, be detailed in this work, but belongs to another, on the subject of Persia, &c. The supposed *Choaspes* will then be the river that descends from the countries of *Dainawar* and *Kirmanshah* in Al Jebal, or *Media*.

<sup>5</sup> Our MILTON, who seldom falls into errors in matters of history, has confined the *use* of the waters of the *Choaspes*, as a beverage, to *kings alone*; instead of confining the kings to the use of *those waters*.

the Asiatics are more particular in their choice of water than Europeans: perhaps it may be, because they drink more of the pure element.

Several rivers of Asia Minor are mentioned, but without any particulars relating to them. It may be supposed, that all the principal streams of this region were known to our Author, although there was no necessity for introducing them. The *Thermodon* is mentioned as being the seat of the Amazons; Calliope, 27; Melp. 110; and the *Parthenius*, in Euterpe, 104, together with the former, as bordering on the Syrians of Cappadocia; the *Halys*, in Clio, 7, and 72, as the line of separation between the empire of Lydia, subject to Cræsus, and that of the Medes. It is described in Clio, 72, to flow from the mountains of Armenia, passing through Cilicia, and dividing the *Matiensians*<sup>6</sup> on the *right* (east) from *Phrygia* on the left; and then stretching towards the north, it is described to separate the *Syrians* of Cappadocia from *Paphlagonia*; which latter is situated to the *left* of the stream. Arrian seems to dispute this account of its course; saying, that it flows from the *east*, not from the *south*: however, the report of Herodotus is certainly just.

Herodotus falls into a great mistake respecting the source of the river *Jaxartes*, which he calls *Araxes*. Strabo, in one place, calls it by the same name, as will be seen in the sequel, but he was too

<sup>6</sup> The reader must not confound *this* Matiene with that of Media. See the xviiiith Satrapy of Darius Hystaspes, and also section xiii.

well informed to fall into the error respecting its source.

Our Author speaks of the *Araxes* as the only considerable one known to him on the east of the Caspian sea. The following are the passages relating to it, collected from his history of the expedition of Cyrus the Great, against the Massagetæ; Clio, 201, *et seq.*

“The nation of the Massagetæ lay *beyond* the *Araxes*—some reckoned this river *less*, others *greater*, than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to *Lesbos* in extent—like the *Gyndes*, it rises amongst the *Matienian* hills. It separates itself into 40 mouths, all of which, except one, lose themselves in the fens and marshes—the larger stream of the *Araxes* continues its even course to the Caspian.”

“The Caspian is bounded on the *east* by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which formed the country of the *Massagetæ*, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack—he advanced to the *Araxes*, threw a bridge of boats over it—passed it with his army from *his own* territories into those *of the enemy*, and advanced beyond it,” &c. Clio, 204, 205, 206, 208, 211.

In this description, the *Jaxartes* and *Oxus* (*Sirr* and *Jihon*,) appear to be confounded together, (he had perhaps heard certain particulars of both rivers, but might refer them to one only,) for there are circumstances that may be applied to each respectively, although *most* of them are applicable only to the

former. It may be observed that our Author mentions only *one* large river in this part of the empire of Cyrus; that is, the river which separates it from the Massagetæ, and which was unquestionably the Sirr or Jaxartes; for there is no question that Sogdia was included in the empire of Cyrus<sup>7</sup>, and it lay *between* the Oxus and Jaxartes. The Oxus, therefore, has no *distinct* place in the geography of our Author, although a river of much greater bulk and importance than the Jaxartes. But that the *Oxus* was intended, when he says that the larger stream continued its even course to the Caspian, appears *probable*; although the numerous branches that formed the large islands, and were afterwards lost in bogs and marshes, agrees rather to the description of the *Aral* lake, and lower part of the *Sirr*. It is indeed possible that the *Jaxartes* may at some period have sent a branch into the *Oxus*; or, *vice versa*, the *Oxus* into the *Jaxartes*; but no such idea is warranted by the ancient descriptions.

Strabo, as we have said, describes it under the name of *Araxes*, p. 512, and seems in this place to follow Herodotus both in the *name* and *description* of it; as, that it borders on the country of the Massagetæ, and affords a retreat to them in the islands formed by the division of its streams, and in its marshes; as also that one branch of it alone ran into

<sup>7</sup> Alexander saw a city, or cities, that had been founded by *Cyrus*, in Sogdia, near the *Jaxartes*, and one of them bore his name. But the modern empire of Persia, or IRAN, is properly bounded by the Jihon, or Oxus.

the *Hyrceanian* sea (*Caspian*). As Strabo describes this river in another place, under the name of *Jaxartes*, p. 510, 514, 518, and the *Oxus* also in its place, it appears that he must have taken the *Araxes* for a *distinct* river; and it is not improbable that he copied the passage from Herodotus, without rightly understanding the subject of it.

The remarkable mistake of our Author deriving *this Araxes* from the mountains of *Matiene*, and giving it an *easterly* course (Melp. 40), must have arisen from his having *heard* of the Armenian Araxes, and confounded it with the other. There is no possibility of getting rid of his error in this matter, for he refers the source of the Massagetan Araxes to the same quarter with that of the *Gyndes*. It can only be said that it is a prodigious mistake <sup>a</sup>.

Such was the ASIA of HERODOTUS, in respect of its general extent and subdivision. We shall next proceed to illustrate such of the subdivisions as the authorities afford the means of describing.

<sup>a</sup> It is proper to observe, that there is much confusion in some of the ancient authors, between the *proper* Tanais at the Mæotis, and the Jaxartes, which was improperly called Tanais by the followers of Alexander; from a supposition, probably, that it was the head of the other river; and there is little doubt but that they supposed their station on the Jaxartes to be much nearer the Mæotis than it really was. It has appeared that the Araxes was also confounded with the Tanais and Jaxartes; particularly in Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 3.

## SECTION X.

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### OF EASTERN SCYTHIA, OR THE COUNTRY OF THE MASSAGETÆ.

*Herodotus in doubt whether the MASSAGETÆ were to be classed as SCYTHIANS—regarded as such by succeeding Greek Writers—Distinction of Scythia, within, and beyond, IMAUS—Limits of both Countries respectively—The Imaus of Ptolemy recognized in modern Geography—Vast Error of Ptolemy, and the modern Geographers, in the Extent of hither Scythia—The ancient Geographers had a very limited Knowledge of Eastern Scythia; and of these, Herodotus, perhaps, the most limited—extended by the Expedition of Alexander; and still more by the Commerce with Serica, for Silk—Issedonians, the first Nation beyond Scythia—By the Massagetæ, Herodotus intended the Eastern Scythians, collectively—Opinions of different Authors, respecting the Tribes of Eastern Scythians; Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Justin—It may be collected, that they reckoned three great Tribes; the Massagetæ, Sacæ, and Dahæ, besides many lesser ones—SACÆ, although the name of a particular Tribe, was extended by the Persians to ALL the Scythians—Geographers overcome by the Number and Names of Scythian Tribes.—Authorities for the geographical Positions of the several Tribes of Massagetæ, Sacæ, Dahæ, Jaxartæ, Abii, Pasiani, and Tochari—Conjectures respecting the Name of the Kossacks, and of the Names of the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus—Remarks on the Expedition of CYRUS against the Massagetæ—Justin more circumstantial than Herodotus.*

It has been stated in page 62, *et seq.* that Herodotus was in doubt whether to regard the MASSA-



GETÆ as SCYTHIANS, but that the subsequent Greek writers universally reckoned them such. It may be added, that the people thus collectively denominated Massagetæ, by Herodotus, who had himself only heard of them in the gross, were in later times found to consist of many tribes, or nations, which had each of them a distinct appellation.

We propose to treat the subject, not merely according to the ideas of our Author, but rather according to those of the ancients at large; in which disquisition, however, the ideas of Herodotus will be made fully to appear.

EASTERN SCYTHIA, which is the country of the Massagetæ, according to Herodotus, was formed into two natural divisions by the chain of mount *Imaus*.

*Scythia intra Imaum* commenced on the west, either at the river *Daix* (*Jaik*, or *Daek*), or at the mountains of *Rhymnicus* (*Ural*), and extended eastward to the great chain that divides in the first instance the two BUCHARIAS; and in its course farther northward, the countries of Ferganah and Western Turkestan, from Kashgur; it being, in effect, the *Imaus* in question; concerning which, as well as the adjacent countries and levels, we have fully spoken in page 239, *et seq.* Accordingly, *Scythia within Imaus*, contained the countries since known by the names of Desht Kipzak, *Western Turkestan*, and the northern part of Ferganah. The Caspian and Aral seas, and the river Sirr (*Sirt*, or *Jaxartes*) formed its general boundary on the south. Northwards its boundary is not clearly ascertained; but *Scythia pro-*

bably extended very far into the *Steppe*; and may be conceived to have been bounded by the continuation of the Imaus of Ptolemy, on the north-west. Hence it will appear, on a reference to Mr. Tooke's *Russia*, Vol. ii. that Scythia within Imaus is at present in the possession of the tribes of the KIRGEES, the KIPZAKS, and the KARAKALPAKS.

The *Imaus* of Ptolemy just mentioned is extended northward beyond the parallel of  $60^{\circ}$ , and from it two different branches, namely, *Ascatancas* and *Anarei*, are described to strike off to the NW, the one from about the parallel of  $43^{\circ}$ , the other from that of  $50^{\circ}$ . There appear also in the Map of the Russian empire, two chains of mountains, the most extensive of which runs through the *Steppe* to the NW, and seems to represent the Imaus in question. These mountains, moreover, inclose the great lake of the Kalmucs (or Palkati Nor), and adjoin on the east to mount *Altai*. (See above, pages 233, and 239.)

The description of Ptolemy is less exact; and, indeed, it is unlikely that he should have known its line of direction *critically*, since the information communicated to him, may be supposed to relate rather to the line of progress of the caravans; that is, of the course of trade between *Sogdia* and *Serica*<sup>1</sup>, than to the bearing of the mountains. The *hither* Scythia of Ptolemy then extended eastward to the neighbourhood of the Palkati Nor, and the

<sup>1</sup> That is, the country between *Kashgur* and *China*; as *Oigur*, *Tangut*, &c.

mountains of Kashgur, in our geography; and northward, to the great chain of mountains, in the Steppe. But the space allowed by him between the head of the Jaxartes and mount Imaus (independent of his faulty scale of longitude), is prodigiously exaggerated; and this error has been copied into the modern maps, even those of M. D'Anville, as we have shewn in the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan<sup>2</sup>.

Scythia *beyond* Imaus, extended eastward, according to Ptolemy, to the neighbourhood of the *Æchardæ*, which we have recognized in the *Oigurs* or *Yugures* of the present times<sup>3</sup>; southward to mount Emodus, the great ridge of Thibet; and northward to the parallel of 55°. These limits, however, must needs have been very vague; but taken as they are, they include generally the country usually called *Eastern Turkestan*, comprehending Kashgur, Kotten, Acsou, &c. And herein Ptolemy agrees generally with Herodotus; who says, that the *Massagetæ* (who are our *Eastern Scythians*) extended to the neighbourhood of the *Issedones*, since these may unquestionably be taken for the *Oigurs* or *Æchardæ*. It is proper to remind the reader, that the further Scythia must of course be situated on the high level mentioned in page 239, *et seq.*; so that the two Scythias occupied very different degrees of level; and, of course, were widely different, in respect of temperature and productions.

<sup>2</sup> See that Memoir, pages 91, and 191, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 173.

Towards the north, Ptolemy places the *Hippophagi*, who seem to have been a nation of *Tartars*, situated near the Palkati Nor. The name, doubtless, will suit the Tartar nations in general. Beyond these again, northward, were the *Abii Scythæ* (of the same name with those so much celebrated by Homer, and other writers), and who may possibly have been the same with the *Ablai*; a tribe of such note, as to give name to that part of the Steppe, which borders on the SW of the river Irtish, though not altogether in the relative position that Ptolemy places them. But it may be conceived, that he knew little in detail concerning this quarter, beyond the regions of Kashgur and Acsou; that is, *Casia* and *Auxacia*. See his *Asia*, Tab. vii. and viii.

It appears pretty clearly, that neither the Greeks, nor the Romans, knew many particulars respecting the geography, or division, of the *tribes* belonging to the Scythians; at least, such discriminations are not expressed in their writings. This being the case, we can only treat the subject in a general way; or, according to Mr. Pinkerton, "estimate ancient geography, by ancient opinions<sup>4</sup>."

In the time of Herodotus, the knowledge of the Greeks respecting Eastern Scythia, even as a general subject, was exceedingly limited; being derived either from the report of the Persians, or from Greeks who had visited Persia. Their sphere of knowledge was enlarged by the expedition of Alex-

<sup>4</sup> See his excellent dissertation on the Scythians, or Goths, p. 225.

ander, and by the communication which was opened with Eastern Asia, in consequence; but still there was no great stock of materials collected for the improvement either of the history, or of the geography of Scythia; which, therefore, continued in a very imperfect state, down to the times of Strabo and Pliny<sup>5</sup>. This is very forcibly expressed by the latter; who says, lib. vi. c. 71, "there is no region in which geographers vary more, than in this (Scythia); which, as I conceive, is occasioned by the infinite number of those nations that wander to and fro;" a remark that will apply no less to the geographers of the present day. In effect, the inhabitants of this tract were so often changed by migrations, southward, and westward, into Persia, &c. that it is no wonder that authors who wrote in different periods, should describe different tribes in the same place. It would therefore require a history, instead of a geographical dissertation, to note the different tribes that occupied the southern frontier of Scythia, between the times of Herodotus and Ptolemy.

Herodotus, from whom we have our first ideas of the Massagetæ, or Eastern Scythians, places them along the northern bank of the *Jaxartes* (he calls it *Araxes*<sup>6</sup>;) and also extends them eastward, far into the country, since denominated from the Kalmucs. For he places them "beyond the Araxes;" and extends their territories "to the *extreme parts of the East*," and opposite the *Issedonians*;" Clio, 201.

<sup>5</sup> During this interval, a commerce appears to have been opened between the Roman empire and *Serica*.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 269, *et seq.*

In effect, he knew the subject but imperfectly: for it has been shewn (page 174, 175,) that he supposed the Issedones and Massagetæ to occupy very different parallels on the globe: and that the former were very much to the northward of the latter.

The Issedonians, as we learn from Ptolemy, were *divided* between the bordering countries of *Scythia* and *Serica*: that is, there were Issedonians of *Scythia*, and Issedonians of *Serica*: and as the latter are placed in, or about, the country of the *Æchardæ*, or *Oigurs*, (as we have said before,) we must regard the tract between Turkestan and China as the *SERICA* of Ptolemy; and of course place the eastern boundary of *Scythia extra Imaum*, at the western border of the Oigur country. This also agrees with a striking circumstance above related, in the history of the Oigurs; namely, their being a lettered nation, whilst all, or most of their neighbours, were illiterate barbarians: and where should the *termination* of *Scythia* be so properly placed as at the *commencement* of civilization and letters<sup>7</sup>?

<sup>7</sup> It is impossible to ascertain the extent of Ptolemy's knowledge of the *Tartarian* nations, and of the course of trade between the Roman empire and those of China and Tartary, (that is, of the *Sinæ* and *Seres*). However, as there may be traced, in his geography, a general idea of the countries in the line between *Sogdiana* and the western frontier of *China*; it may be supposed that this information was collected from the travellers in the caravans, which brought silk and other articles from China, or *Serica*, or both. This commerce is spoken of by Pliny, lib. vi. c. 17, about half a century before the time of Ptolemy: but Pliny knew so little concerning the nature of silk, that he supposed it to be the produce of a tree; nor does it appear

The Massagetæ then, in the opinion of Herodotus, and of the early Greeks, must have constituted the bulk of the *Eastern Scythians*: but he also says, Polym. 64, that SACÆ was a name given by the Persians indiscriminately to ALL Scythians; in which he is supported by Pliny, *at least*: of which, more in the sequel.

Arrian, who appears to have written solely from materials furnished by the followers of Alexander, (and more particularly by Ptolemy and Aristobulus,) who describe the state of things about a century after the time of Herodotus, places the *Massagetæ* along the north of *Sogdia*: agreeing, so far as he goes, with Herodotus. But he also speaks of the *Dahæ* as a very considerable tribe, seated on or near the Jaxartes: and, by circumstances, near the lower part of its course. But he omits the *Sacæ* altogether;

that the silk-worm was accurately known till the time of Justinian.

The same degree of ignorance seems to have prevailed respecting the extent of China and Serica. According to Mr. Gibbon, "the Romans did not entertain a suspicion that the SERES or SINE possessed an empire not inferior to their own." The reader will find in the seventh vol. of his great work, p. 90, *et seq.* a curious history of the introduction of silk into Europe, by Justinian; prefaced with much information respecting that curious and valuable production. In the course of this dissertation he remarks, that "in the vain capital of China, the Sogdian caravans were entertained as the *suppliant embassies* of tributary kingdoms;" which shews that the customs of China have undergone little change down to the present moment. The reader may receive full conviction on this head (if he doubted it before,) by a perusal of M. Van Braam's account of the late Dutch embassy to China.

which is worthy of remark. They are, however, spoken of by Curtius, who might have had recourse to materials that had not been examined by Arrian. Curtius also mentions the *Dahæ*: but seems to intend those only who were seated on the Caspian sea, adjoining to Hyrcania; lib. iii. and iv.

Diodorus speaks of the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Arimaspii*, as the principal tribes or nations of Scythians, beyond the *Tanais* (meaning the *Jaxartes*;) lib. ii. c. 3.

Strabo and Pliny appear to have examined a greater number of authorities than either Arrian or Curtius.

Strabo thus speaks of the positions of the Scythian nations generally: "Certain of the ancient Greek writers called ALL those nations which lay towards the *north* SCYTHIANS and CELTO-SCYTHIANS, without distinction: but at a still earlier period they were divided into classes, or tribes; those who dwelt above the Euxine, the Danube, and the Adriatic were named HYPERBOREANS, SAUROMATÆ, and ARIMASPI; but of those beyond the Caspian sea, some were called SACÆ, others MASSAGETÆ, not being able to speak accurately of them, although they had written a history of the war of CYRUS with the MASSAGETÆ." Page 507.

After this he gives, in the succeeding pages, a detail of the positions of several of the principal tribes of *Eastern* Scythians.

In page 511 he speaks of the *Massagetæ*, *Dahæ*, and *Sacæ*, as the *principal* Scythian tribes: but says, that there are other tribes also who have indi-



vidual names, but pass under the general denomination of Scythians: all of which (says he) are *true Nomades*. The *Dahæ*, he says, begin at the Caspian sea<sup>8</sup>; the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* lie more to the east. Here we find an agreement between Strabo and Curtius respecting the *Dahæ*: and as the *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* lie more to the east, we are to look for them at or near the *Jaxartes*, of course. Strabo moreover tells us, p. 514, that the *Jaxartes* separated the *Sogdii* and *Sacæ* in like manner as the *Oxus* did the *Sogdii* and *Bactriani*.

Again, p. 512, he describes the seats of the *Massagetæ* to be towards the lower part of the course of the *Jaxartes*, and its lakes, (admitting, as we can hardly do less, that the river which he as well as Herodotus, Diodorus, and Justin, calls *Araxes*, is meant for the former.) In page 513 he also says, that the *Chorasmii* ARE *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ*. Whether these tribes possessed Chorasmia at the date of Alexander's expedition, we have no means of knowing; but as Strabo says, page 511, that the *Pasiani*, *Tochari*, and *Sacæ*, dispossessed the Macedonians of the empire of *Bactria*, it is not improbable that the progress of the *Massagetæ* in Chorasmia was also subsequent to the time of Alexander. Not but that such migrations from Scythia must have happened in earlier times; only that the Scythians might have been so long established as to pass with the Greeks for aborigines.

<sup>8</sup> He explains in the same pages, and also in 508, that these *Dahæ* were of a particular tribe named *Parni*, or *Aparni*.

Justin informs us, lib. ii. c. 1 and 3, that the kingdoms of *Bactria* and *Parthia* were founded by the Scythians; which, as he makes no distinction of tribes, agrees with Strabo<sup>9</sup>. And, in fact, there is little doubt that the Scythians have, in the course of ages, overrun all the southern and western countries of Asia. We may trace the Turks from their original country, *Turkestan*, (a part of Scythia inhabited by the Massagetæ,) to the shores of the Hellespont, in an age subsequent to Strabo. The incursions of Monguls under Jinglyhis Khan and Tamerlane, into Persia and Lower Asia, are to be considered as Scythian invasions: and Persia is at the present moment overrun with *modern* Scythians, who are actually in a *Nomadic* state in that country.

Pliny, vi. 17, says, "Beyond *Sogdiana* are the *Scythian nations*. The Persians were accustomed to call these in general SACÆ, from a *tribe* which bordered on them<sup>1</sup>. And, on the other hand, the Scythians called the Persians *Chorsari*<sup>2</sup>." He speaks moreover of the Massagetæ, Dahæ, and various other Scythian tribes.

Pliny had a comprehensive knowledge of geography; and therefore we may place some dependance on his statements: and these express generally

<sup>9</sup> We learn from Strabo, 515, that *Arsaces*, who conquered Parthia, was a Scythian, and of the tribe of *Parni-Dahæ*.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the *Sakita* (or *Sacqita*, in the Maronite edition) of Edrisi, in page 141; said to be situated in *Turkestan*, adjoining to *Kilan*, *Vachan*, &c. provinces of *Balk*, or *Bactriana*; and in the quarter of *Saganian*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the same word with the modern *Kozar* or *Khajar*.

that the subject was little understood, by reason of the frequent migrations of the tribes in the quarter towards the Jaxartes and Imaus ; as also, that *Sacæ* was a general term in Persia for ALL Scythians, although there were various tribes of them : in which, as has been already shewn, he agrees with Herodotus.

Ptolemy places a great number of tribes along the Jaxartes and Mount Imaus : amongst whom are found the Massagetæ, near the fountains of the Jaxartes : and the Sacæ, a great nation *beyond* the fountains both of *Jaxartes* and *Oxus* ; but on *this* side of *Imaus* and *Casia* (Kashgur). A third tribe occupies generally the whole northern bank of the *Jaxartes*, opposite to *Sogdiana* ; and this tribe is named *Jaxartæ*, of which we suppose the *Sartes*<sup>3</sup> to be the remains. The *Dahæ* of Ptolemy are placed in the country to the NE of *Hyrkania*, and adjacent to the Caspian sea ; in effect, *Dahestan* ; agreeing with Strabo : and are out of all question with respect to Scythia ; although they, no doubt, drew their origin from thence.

It appears that Justin understood so imperfectly the geography of Scythia at large, that he supposed it to be wholly comprised in the country adjacent to the Euxine and Palus Mæotis : this, at least, his descriptions (lib. ii. c. 1 and 2.) shew : he says, that the Scythians dwelt along the rivers that fall into the Mæotis—and that Scythia extended in length towards the east ; and had Pontus on one side ; on the

<sup>3</sup> This will be further explained in the sequel.

others, the *Riphæan* mountains and the river Phasis. Of course he knew *Western Scythia* alone (the Scythia of our Author); and referred all the Scythian history to that quarter. He supposed the warfare of Alexander's army with the Scythians<sup>4</sup> to have been in the quarter of the Euxine (lib. xii. c. 2.); he also describes the passing of the *Araxes* (Jaxartes) by Cyrus, to attack Tomyris (lib. ii. c. 8.) but it is uncertain what his idea of its position was; it is not impossible that he took it for the Araxes of Armenia.

From the above authorities, taken generally, it appears that the ancients reckoned *three great tribes* of Scythians towards the Jaxartes; namely, the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Dahæ*; besides a great many lesser tribes; (or possibly, only of *lesser note*, from their being farther removed from the seat of warfare with the Greeks.) They might, indeed, have been subdivisions of the greater tribes; a state of things existing at the present day. In the early times of Herodotus, it appears that only the *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ* were known to the Greeks; and that by report only: and Herodotus, who is supported in the assertion by Pliny, says, that *Sacæ*, although it was the name of a particular tribe, bordering on the *Persians*, yet that it was *by them* extended to ALL the Scythians. Strabo, in effect, says the same, page 514, by giving the Jaxartes as the general boundary between the *Sogdians* and

<sup>4</sup> He calls them *Scythians* simply: not *Massagetæ*, like Herodotus.

the *Sacæ* ; for, as in the other descriptions, the *Massagetæ* were said to be the people who bordered on the *north* of *Sogdiana*, and consequently on the *Jaxartes*, the *Sacæ* of Strabo must stand in the place of the *Massagetæ* of others. To this must be added, that Arrian, who made use of the materials furnished by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, never mentions the *Sacæ* at all : a plain proof that these journalists had not made use of the term ; although they fought with those very Scythians who are called *Sacæ* by Strabo and Pliny ; but *Massagetæ* by Arrian and Herodotus.

This, therefore, can no otherwise be accounted for than by supposing (as we have said before) that *Massagetæ* was a term invented and applied by the Greeks to the Eastern GETÆ, or Scythians, beyond the Caspian and *Jaxartes* ; in contradistinction to the *Getæ* or Scythians of the *Euxine* ; who were the first and most familiarly known to the Greeks <sup>5</sup>. We must then regard the term SACÆ, as that in use, amongst the Persians, to denote the *Eastern Scythians* : and MASSAGETÆ, as of the same import amongst the Greeks. And indeed, in perusing Ar-

<sup>5</sup> The like has happened in a variety of instances : the country *beyond* India was named the *further* India, because a collective name was wanted for it ; and it was accordingly denominated from its relative position to the other ; although it might as well have been named the *hither* China. The *continents* of Asia and Africa were also denominated from *provinces* of those continents ; that is, Asia at Large, from *Asia Minor* : Africa, from the Carthaginian province so named.

rian's history of Alexander's campaigns in Sogdia, we can understand no other than that Massagetæ was a general term for all the Scythians, with whom Alexander fought. And it is not improbable, that the name Massagetæ, being familiarized to the Greeks by their historians *at home*, was applied by them, on their arrival in Sogdia, without any farther inquiry concerning the justness of the application. This may also account for the seeming contradictions in the ancient geographers, respecting the seats of the different tribes, when their names came to be unfolded, as the progress of geographical knowledge increased, under the Macedonian empire in Asia : for instance, Strabo places the Massagetæ very *low down* the Jaxartes ; Ptolemy very *high up* the same river ; whilst Herodotus and Arrian extend them along it, generally, throughout its whole course. Again, Strabo and Pliny place the *Sacæ* in the room of these *Massagetæ* of Herodotus and Arrian. To what is this owing, but that, in the first instance, MASSAGETÆ was regarded by some as a general name ; and by others, as a particular one ; and in the second place, that the names SACÆ and MASSAGETÆ were used by two different nations, respectively, to denote one and the same people ?

It may be owing to the same cause that the Chorasmiens were reckoned both *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ*, as we learn from Strabo.

Geographers seem to have been overcome by the number of names of Scythian tribes ; but many, or perhaps most of these, were no more than the names of chiefs ; of which we have many examples in Western

Asia <sup>6</sup>. We shall therefore only attempt to fix the local positions of the principal tribes amongst those known to the Greeks; that is, the *Massagetæ*, *Sacæ*, *Dahæ*, *Jaxartæ*, *Abii*, *Pasiani*, and *Tochari*. And this we hope to accomplish, by drawing into one point of view the different authorities found in ancient history: in the course of which, some repetitions will occur, that were in the nature of things unavoidable.

### I. MASSAGETÆ.

*Herodotus*. A great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes (Jaxartes) to the extreme parts of the East. They are opposite to the Issedonians; Clio, 201. The Caspian, (or rather, Aral,) sea is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the *Massagetæ*; ib. 204. Cyrus advanced beyond the Araxes (Jaxartes) into the land of the *Massagetæ*; 209. They subsist upon cattle, and upon fish, which the *Araxes* abundantly supplies; 216.

*Strabo*. The *Massagetæ* border on the *Araxes* (Jaxartes,) p. 512 and 513. The *Massagetæ* and *Sacæ* are situated to the eastward of the *Dahæ*, who border on the *Caspian* sea; 511. The *Massagetæ* were adjacent to the *Bactrians*, towards the *Oxus*: and the inhabitants of *Chorasmia* were partly *Massagetæ*; 513.

<sup>6</sup> The reader will find in page 184, a quotation from Mr. Tooke, illustrative of this matter.

*Diodorus.* The *Massagetæ* are beyond the *Tanais* (*Jaxartes*); lib. ii. c. 3.

*Arrian.* The *Massagetæ* are situated to the north of *Sogdia*; lib. iv. c. 17.

*Ptolemy.* *Massagetæ*, a tribe towards the head of the *Jaxartes*; Asia, vii.

*Justin* makes no distinction between the different tribes of *Scythians*; in lib. i. and ii.

Thus, the *Massagetæ*, if taken according to the idea of *Herodotus*, as the whole nation of *Eastern Scythians*, must have inhabited the tract between the east side of the *Caspian sea*, and the territories of the *Oigurs* (since *these* can only be taken for the *Issedonians*); that is, they inhabited *Scythia*, both on *this* side, and *beyond*, *Imaus*. But this appears too great a range for them, according to the ideas of subsequent geographers, who were better informed: and it appears more probable, that the *proper* country of the *Massagetæ* was confined between the *Caspian sea*, and *Imaus*, on the east and west, and the *Jaxartes* on the south<sup>7</sup>. So that it may be taken generally for *Scythia within Imaus*; and may have comprehended the vast plains situated beyond the *Caspian* and *Jaxartes*; that is, the *Desht Kipzak*, the *Western Turkestan*, and the proper country of *Gete*; which latter, from *Sherefeddin's* history of *Timur*, we should conclude to be situated *wholly* within

<sup>7</sup> At the date of *Alexander's* expedition, there were some tracts on the south of the *Jaxartes*, in possession of the *Scythians*.



Imaus<sup>5</sup>. Thus they must have occupied the seats of the Kirgees tribes in the present times.

Herodotus spoke of them as *one* nation, but Alexander, about a century and half after the invasion of the Massagetæ, by Cyrus, found the Scythians at the Jaxartes, divided into several tribes. Doubtless, the fact was, that the former had only *heard* of them collectively; but Alexander, having an *intercourse* with them, discovered that they were divided into different nations. All which was perfectly natural.

## II. SACÆ.

*Herodotus.* "A Scythian nation—and though really the *Amyrgii* of Scythia, were called *Sacæ*, the name given by the Persians, indiscriminately to all Scythians." Polym. 64.

*Pliny.* A tribe which bordered on the Persian empire, and from whence the whole nation of the (Eastern) Scythians was denominated; lib. vi. c. 17. This seems to have been the *Sakita* of Edrisi.

*Strabo.* The Jaxartes separates the *Sacæ* from the *Sogdii*; page 514; in like manner as the Oxus separates the *Sogdii* from the *Bactriani*; and again, p. 517.

*Diodorus.* One of the principal tribes of Scythians, beyond the Tanais—(Jaxartes); lib. ii. c. 3.

*Curtius.* The *Sacæ* sent ambassadors to Alex-

<sup>5</sup> One cannot reasonably doubt, that this name *Gete*, has remained in that country from very early times. See Sherefeddin's *Timur*, lib. i. and ii.

ander, on occasion of his defeating the Scythians at the Jaxartes; lib. vii. c. 9. Alexander afterwards invaded the country of the *Sacæ*; lib. viii. c. 4. Curtius gives no intimation concerning its position, but it is inferred from other notices.

*Ptolemy.* A great people, situated between *Casia*, *Bylta*, and the head of the Jaxartes. *Bylta* is the modern *Baltistan*; or Little Thibet; Asia, Tab. vii.

It has been said (in page 283), that there is a tract named *Sackita* in Edrisi. This must be looked for, between the upper parts of the courses of the Jihon, and Sirr (Oxus and Jaxartes), and the Indus; and adjoining to the mountains of Kashgur: agreeing perfectly with the ideas derived from the ancients, and also with the expedition of Alexander, amongst the *Sacæ*; who seem therefore to have possessed the countries of Kotlan and Saganian, &c. The tract assigned them by Ptolemy, answers to this; it being situated between *Bactria*, *Sogdia*, and the *hither Scythia*. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of a city of *Saga*, in this quarter, which name has probably a reference to the *Sacæ*, and may be that of *Saganian* itself; which is situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Ammianus describes the seats of the *Sacæ* to be under the mountains *Ascanimia* and *Comedus*; and joining to *Drepsa*, which may be taken for *Anderab*, a province of Balk, or Bactria; lib. xxiii. The mountains *Ascatancas* and *Comedi*, appear also in Ptolemy, in the same situation. (Asia, vii.)

The road of the caravans led by, or through, the *Sacæ*; there was a *town* called the *Stone Tower* (perhaps a *military*

As the *Sacæ* are said to have extended their *name* to the Scythians in general, it must naturally be supposed that they were a formidable and populous tribe, or rather nation; and that a part of them only had established themselves within the dominions of Persia. That they were good warriors, is proved by the history of the expedition of Xerxes. Cyrus is even said, Clio, 153, "to have prepared for serious resistance from them:" and the frequent recurrence of the root *Saca*, in so many countries, shews that their conquests and establishments have been extensive. Such is *Sacastana* by *Sigistan*; *Sagarian*; *Sacacene*, and *Sacapene*, in the quarter of Armenia. But it may be supposed, that these settlements were made posterior to the Macedonian conquest, as the *Sacæ* had a share in the overthrow of their empire in *Bactria*, as we have shewn from Strabo, in page 282<sup>1</sup>.

*post* on a scarped rock), by which the caravans passed; noted both by Anmianus and Ptolemy. There was also near it a *station* or *emporium* frequented by the merchants who trafficked to Serica, and which seems to have been at the passage of the mountains, from Balk into Kashgur. This appears to have been the route followed by MARCO POLO, in 1272; for he went from Badakshan, by Belur, to Kashgur; crossing a vast elevated plain, named *Pamer*, which answers to the *Comedi*, and *Sacæ* of Ptolemy; and the *Sakita* of Edrisi.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 511, traces the *Sacæ* into *Bactria*, *Cimmeria*, *Eastern Armenia*, and even *Cappadocia*; where they were destroyed by the Persians. But they gave their name to the tract, through which the Cyrus and Araxes flow, between *Georgia* and the Caspian sea; that is, the beautiful vallies of Karabaug and Ganja. The name *Kosaki* still remains in a part of the tract.

It is possible, that the general denomination of *Sacæ*, was of the same import, perhaps even a part of, the very same name, with the *Kossaki* of modern times: that is, *wanderers, freebooters, or banditti* <sup>2</sup>.

Other particulars relating to the *Sacæ*, and especially those which were subjected to Persia, and who served in the army of Xerxes, will be given in the account of the Satrapies.

### III. DAHÆ, or DÆ.

The *DAHÆ* are mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Curtius, Justin, Arrian, and Ptolemy. Their name occurs very often in the history of Alexander's expeditions to Sogdia, &c.: and they appear to have been a numerous tribe. They were leagued with the *Massagetæ*; and, from circumstances, they appear to have been seated chiefly at the *lower* part

It is not improbable, that the *Assacæni* of Alexander had their name from the same origin: and it is certain that their country, *Sowhad*, borders on the *Sacæ* of Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Kirkpatrick says, "I think I recognize the *Cossacks* in the oriental term or appellation of *Cozdck*, or *Cuzzáck*, which is applied generally to any *banditti* or freebooters: but which I have also met with, in a restrained sense, and applied to a particular tribe or nation; though I cannot at present recollect the passage." (Kirk. MSS. vol. v. p. 44.) Mr. Tooke also remarks, *Russia*, vol. ii. p. 242, that the term *Kasack* is generally taken in a bad sense.

Colonel Kirkpatrick mentions a tribe of the name of *ALLEMANS*, with whom some of the Mogul princes of India warred, beyond the *Oxus*. We mention this as an additional proof of the progress of the Scythian names westward, whilst they also keep their ground in the East.

of the Jaxartes ; perhaps on both sides of it. Curtius says, that the *Chorasmians* lay between the *Dahæ* and the *Massagetæ* : so that he must mean, in this place, the *Dahæ* of the present *Dahestan* ; who agree to the *Aparni* or *Parni* of Strabo, a tribe of *Dahæ*, situated at the Caspian<sup>3</sup> : but the *Dahæ* amongst whom Spitamenes took refuge seem evidently to have been situated in the neighbourhood of *Sogdia*, and of the *Massagetæ*.

In order, therefore, to allow any degree of consistency to the ancient accounts, there must have been *two* countries in which the *Dahæ* were settled, at the date of Alexander's expedition : one, at the Jaxartes, and at the east of the Aral (taken for a part of the Caspian) ; the other, farther down the Caspian, and adjoining to *Hyrkania*. In proof of the former, we have, 1st, the circumstances of the war of Alexander with the Scythians, in Arrian, and in Curtius. 2d, Arrian mentions the *Dahæ* at, and beyond, the Tanais ; lib. iii. 28. Strabo mentions the *Dahæ* beyond the Tanais, as well as at the Caspian, p. 511 : and according to him (same page), it would appear that the original seat of the *Dahæ*, was at, or beyond, the *Tanais* (meaning the *Jaxartes*).

That the *Dahæ* were settled at the Caspian, to the north of *Hyrkania*, we have abundant proof : and the present name of that very tract, DAHESTAN (or country of the *Dahæ*), adjoining on the north, to *Korkan*, or *Hyrkania*, is no contemptible one.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dahæ* of Justin, lib. xli. c. 1, were also near *Hyrkania* and *Aria*.

Strabo says, that the *Dahæ* lay on the *left* of the Caspian sea, in coming from the *north*; p. 508. He also, pp. 508, and 511, speaks of a tribe of *Dahæ* named *Parni*, or *Aparni*, who lived in the tract adjoining to *Hyrkania*, and had a desert to the northward of them; clearly referring to *Dahestan*. Again, 511, he speaks of the *Dahæ* as the most western tribe of Scythians, and bordering on the Caspian sea: and in 515, of the *Parni* by the river *Ochus*. It is certain, that he supposed the *Parni Dahæ*, in this place, to have come from the *Palus Mæotis*; but it is more likely that Strabo should have been guilty of an error, in the supposed geography of the *Mæotis*, than that the *Dahæ* should have made the tour of the Caspian sea, from their seat at the *Jaxartes*. His ignorance of the particulars of the Caspian sea, led him also into the error of placing the *Dahæ* so high up, on the coast of that sea.

Ptolemy has both *Dahæ* and *Parni*, on the NE of *Hyrkania*, agreeing with Strabo. (*Asia*, vii.) He also places *Massagetæ* and *Derbicæ*, nearly in the same situation: that is, along the river, which in fact represents the *Ochus*, but is there named *Margus*: and *vice versa*, the *Margus* is named *Ochus*: (there being in his geography, a complete transposition of these two rivers, as well as of some places on their banks.) The *Massagetæ* just mentioned, may be meant for those spoken of by Strabo, in *Chorasmia*.

It may be remarked, that Arrian never once mentions the *Dahæ*, during the *warfare* of Alexander,

amongst the Eastern Scythians: but constantly calls these Scythians, *Massagetæ*, as a general term; although he had *previously* mentioned the tribe of *Dahæ* at, or beyond, the Jaxartes. But Curtius, in describing the same events, speaks both of *Dahæ* and *Massagetæ*; as in the affair of *Maracanda*, and in the last expedition of *Spitamenes*; so that, in the idea of Arrian, the tribe of *Dahæ* should be included in the greater tribe, or nation of the *Massagetæ*: which, we shall once more repeat, seems to have included (amongst the early Greeks,) the whole body of *Eastern Scythians* collectively<sup>4</sup>.

It is probable that the *Daritæ* of Herodotus, in Thalia, 92, are the *Dahæ*, at the Caspian sea. In Clio, 125, the *Dai*, a pastoral tribe of Persia *proper*, is mentioned. Can these be the *Dahæ*? More will be said of these, in the account of the Satrapies.

#### IV. JAXARTÆ.

Ptolemy mentions the *Jaxartæ*: placing them along the northern bank of the *Jaxartes*, throughout the *lower half* of its course. These, consequently, occupy the place of the *Massagetæ* of Herodotus and Arrian; and of the *Sacæ* of Strabo. Ptolemy *may*, possibly, have named them arbitrarily: but as there is a remnant of a tribe named *SARTES*, now existing between the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, and which are reported to be the remains of the ancient

<sup>4</sup> It has been remarked on a former occasion, p. 281, that Curtius appears to have made use of certain materials that Arrian had not seen. Here seems to be another instance of it.

inhabitants of the country, it is possible that this was one of the tribes of the *Massagetæ* or *Sacæ*; which, as we have seen, were no more than general names bestowed by the Greeks and Persians; whilst *Jaxartæ* may have been the true name, in the *country itself*: and, very probably, gave name to the river *Jaxartes*, at that period; of which *SIRR*, and *SIRT*, which are in use at present, may be the remains. Ammianus speaks of the *Jaxartæ* as a tribe; and of good account, in lib. xxiii.

The *SARTES* are mentioned by Abulgazi Kan: and also by Mr. Tooke, (*Russia*, vol. ii. p. 128, 150, 152,) under the name of *SARTI*.

As we have supposed the name of *Jaxartes* to be derived from this tribe, so we suspect that the river *Oxus* had its name from the ancient tribe of *OUTZI*. Mr. Tooke says, (same volume, p. 130,) "The *Bokharians* (these inhabit the banks of the *Oxus*, now called *Jihon*,) assert that they are the *unmixed* descendants of the *Outzians*; and the real *Turkoman*s." Now, there is a town and district at the side of the Indus (where the waters of the Panjab join it,) named *OUTCH*, or *UTCH*; and which is evidently the tract whose inhabitants were by the Greeks named *OXYDRACÆ*. See Arrian, lib. vi. and Ayin Acbaree, vol. ii. p. 136.

Ptolemy not only places the city, and lake of the *Oxians*, in Sogdiana, the latter of which answers to the lake near Bokhara, but the *OXYDRACÆ* also, (*Asia*, Tab. vii.) It may be supposed that both of these tribes had anciently the same name of *Outzi*, or



*Outchi*: and which the one has preserved, but the other lost, as it respects common use.

#### V. ABII.

This appears to have been a respectable tribe, both in point of national character and of numbers. Ptolemy places them far to the NE of the *Jaxartes*; and, as we have said in p. 277, in the position that we should assign to the *Steppe*, or desert of *Ablai*, on the SW bank of the upper part of the river Irtish.

Some of the historians of Alexander mention the *Abii*, as having sent ambassadors to him during his stay at the *Jaxartes*<sup>5</sup>. The people of *Ablai* appear to have been too far distant from the *Jaxartes* (that is, five weeks' journey, or more), to be the people intended; but then the *European* Scythians, by which those of *Kipzak* appear to be meant, also came. The *Abii* are celebrated for their justice and forbearance, never entering into wars but when compelled. This is a trait of the *Hyperborean* character also; (see page 199;) and the *Ablai* dwelt beyond the chain of mountains which seems intended for the boundary of the *Hyperboreans*.

It is a curious circumstance, and well worth notice, that the *Abian* Scythians were known, and celebrated by Homer, as the best and justest people on earth: and could it be supposed that he intended the same *Abians* with those seen by Alexander, it

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, lib. iv.—Curtius, vii. c. 6.

would prove that the Greeks had a very early knowledge of the Eastern Scythians<sup>6</sup>. But the Greeks carried with them into Asia, and sometimes applied, the names of nations and tribes found in their historians, or poets, without much regard to accuracy; and we rather conceive that Homer meant some tribe of the Western Scythians; as also, that the Greeks applied to a tribe of Eastern Scythians this name, which might have had some affinity in sound with the other.

#### VI. PASIANI, ASPASIACÆ, or PASICÆ.

Ptolemy places the *Pasicæ* on the north of the Oxus, *below* Sogdiana, but *above* the mountains of the Oxii: or in a position answering to *that*, in modern geography, between Bokhara and Khowarezm. This tribe answers, in point of position, to the *Aspasiens* of Polybius, who are placed between the Oxus and Jaxartes; and who occasionally crossed the former in order to invade *Hyrcania*, &c.; of which passage a curious description is given by Polybius, in lib. x. Exc. 8. These may also be taken for the *Pasiani* of Strabo, 511; who, with the *Sacæ* and *Tochari*, conquered Bactria from the Greeks; as well as for the *Aspaciacæ* of the same author, in p. 513. We can find no traces of this name in modern geography, except in that quarter of Armenia towards the river *Aras*, or *Araxes*.

<sup>6</sup> Iliad, xiii. v. 6. See also Strabo, lib. vii. p. 296, *et seq.* and 311; and Ammian. Marc. lib. xxiii.

VII. TOCHARI, *or* TACHORI.

The place of this tribe is given in Ptolemy, Asia, vii. at the south of the Jaxartes, (perhaps in or near Fergana); and the *Thocari*, perhaps meant for a part of the same tribe, on the south of the Oxus, *below Bactria*. We have just seen that the *Tochari* was one of the tribes who conquered Bactria; and at the present day the country on the east of Balk is called *Tocharestan*. Ptolemy should therefore have placed his Thocari *higher* up the Oxus. The Jaxartes may have been the original seat of this tribe.

It is worthy of remark, that two tribes of the names of *Taochari* and *Pasiani* are *now* seated near the Araxes, in Armenia; the first answering to the *Taochi* of Xenophon, the other probably giving its name to the Araxes, as Xenophon calls it *Phasis*: so that they seem to have penetrated southward on both sides of the Caspian.

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We shall close the observations on the Eastern Scythians with a few remarks on the expedition of CYRUS against them, under the name of MASSAGETÆ.

The history of this transaction is very briefly related, both in Herodotus and Justin: so that little can be collected concerning his military progress. The former barely states, that he threw a bridge over the river, and advanced about a day's march beyond it, into Scythia; Clio, 206, 211; when the stratagem of alluring the Scythians to feasting and drunkenness

was practised, by which about one-third of the Scythian army was destroyed. See also Justin, lib. 1. c. 8<sup>7</sup>.

After this, Herodotus says, Tomyris collected all her remaining forces, and gave battle to Cyrus: a battle the most obstinately fought of any on record; and which terminated in the destruction of Cyrus himself, and the greater part of his army. Clio, 214.

Justin is somewhat more circumstantial. He says that Tomyris artfully drew Cyrus into the *straits* of the *mountains*, where, ambuscades being laid, the king and his whole army were slain. Lib. i. c. 8.

If it be supposed that Cyrus advanced by the usual road from *Sogdiana* into *Scythia*, that is, from *Mawuralnahr*<sup>8</sup> into *Turkestan*, he would naturally have crossed the Jaxartes (Sirr) at *Kojend*, the great pass into *Turkestan*; where, it appears clearly, Alexander crossed it to attack the Scythians; and in which neighbourhood he found the city or cities that had been built by *Cyrus*; one of which bears the name of *Cyreschata*, or *Cyropolis*, in Ptolemy.

The narrative of Justin is rendered probable by the circumstances of the geography: for there are mountainous chains, which approach very close to the farther bank of the Sirr; although, according to Herodotus, we should expect one continuous plain throughout the country of the Massagetæ. One of

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, who likewise mentions the warfare of Cyrus with the *Massagetæ*, refers this story to his war with the *Sacæ*; page 512.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, *the country beyond the river*; that is, the *Jihon*, or *Oxus*. Thus the Persians and Arabians are accustomed to express the country of Samarkand, or *Sogdiana*.

these chains commences directly opposite to the pass of Kojend, and extends far to the north, into Turkestan; (Kirk. MSS.) another commences opposite to Otrar (a famous pass over the same river towards Kipzak, and much nearer to the lake Aral), and contains some *strong posts*, as we learn from Sherefeddin's History of Timur. But the *former* is the most likely to have been the scene of the defeat and death of Cyrus.

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## SECTION XI.

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OF THE TWENTY SATRAPIES OF DARIUS HYSTASPES, CONSIDERED GEOGRAPHICALLY, AND ALSO WITH A REFERENCE TO THE CATALOGUE OF THE ARMY OF XERXES.

*The Persian empire contained most of the known part of Asia—Much geographical knowledge may be derived from the account of the Satrapies—Arrangement of this Dissertation—Asia Minor divided into four Satrapies; and arranged by the Persians, with a view to a concentration of its naval force—Lydia, and empire of Cræsus—Gold of the Pactolus—Phrygia, anciently the great body of Asia Minor—Syrians of Cappadocia, or Leuco-syri—Troy and the Troade—Strength and importance of Cilicia, in a military view—Phœnicia and Palestine—JERUSALEM, under the name of Cadytis—Monuments of the conquests of Sesostris—Jews intended, by the Syrians of Palestine. Herodotus ignorant of their history—Phœnician Letters and Commerce—Egypt, the conquest of Cambyses—Greatness of its tribute—Ethiopians present gold dust, ivory, and ebony—Egyptian forces sent to Xerxes consisted of ships; but the crews fought also on shore—Arabian auxiliaries—Desert between Egypt and Syria—Arrangement of Cambyses to procure water in his passage through it, to Egypt—Similar arrangement of Nadir Shah, in Persia.—Assyria included the countries in general, below Taurus—Babylonia—A proof of the veracity of our Author—Sensible custom respecting diseased persons—Nineveh—Cissia, or Susiana—Susa—Disposal of the captive Eretrians and Bœotians, by the Persians—Agreement of sacred and profane history, in several instances—Media, a beau-*



*tiful and extensive tract—Nisæan horses, and pastures—The term Median employed to express both Medians and Persians, collectively—Cities of Ecbatana and Rages.*

OF that portion of ASIA known in detail to Herodotus, and, as may be supposed, to the Greeks in general of his day, the Persian empire under DARIUS HYSTASPES formed by far the greatest part. Accordingly, our Author's account of the distribution of the Persian empire into twenty Satrapies is particularly curious, and no less useful, as it points out the particulars, as well as the extent, of the geographical knowledge of the times. And although there are some errors in the description, as there must necessarily be, where the subject is so very extensive, yet it is, on the whole, so remarkably consistent, that one is surprised how the Greeks found means to acquire so much knowledge, respecting so distant a part. It is possible that we have been in the habit of doing them injustice, by allowing them a less degree of knowledge of the geography of Asia, down to the expedition of Alexander, than they really possessed: that is, we have, in some instances, ascribed to Alexander certain geographical discoveries, which perhaps were made long anterior to his expedition.

This arrangement of the SATRAPIES is not to be regarded as a mere list of names of countries; for, aided by the catalogue, and the description of the army of Xerxes, and some other notices, it furnishes us with much information relative to the manners and customs of their inhabitants. The date of Darius's arrangement differs so little from that of the expedition of Xerxes, which succeeded it, that mat-

ters may be considered as continuing much in the same state.

Of the whole number of Satrapies, one only was situated beyond the boundary of Asia; and that one in Africa: and so extensive was this empire of Persia, that Alexander, from the time he first crossed over into Asia, scarcely ever overstept the boundary of it, constituted as it then was. We are even told by Herodotus, Clio 4, that the Persians esteemed ASIA their own peculiar possession<sup>1</sup>. But Asia, however, is to be understood in a limited sense; for the parts beyond India and Turkestan were, as we have seen, unknown.

The conquests made on the continent of Europe, and in its islands, although subjected to regular tribute, were not erected into *Satrapies*. Indeed, the measure of dividing the empire was anterior to the European conquests.

Our Author informs us, Thalia 89, that one of the first acts of authority of Darius Hystaspes, was to divide Persia into 20 provinces, which they called SATRAPIES; to each of which, a governor, under the title of *Satrap*, was appointed<sup>2</sup>. That he then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many nations together, which were near each other, under one district; and that

<sup>1</sup> And in Calliope, 116: "the Persians considered *all Asia* as their *own*, and the property of the reigning monarch."

<sup>2</sup> In Daniel, ch. vi. ver. 1. DARIUS the MEDE (taken for Cyaxares II.) divides his empire, which consisted of the territories of Babylon and Media united, into 120 provinces, subject to three presidents, of whom Daniel was one.

sometimes he passed over many which were adjacent; forming one government of various remote and scattered nations. He adds, that during the reign of CYRUS, and indeed of CAMBYSES, there were no *specific tributes*, but *presents* were made to the sovereign. That, in these innovations, Darius seemed to have no object in view but the acquisition of gain; Cambyses was negligent and severe, whilst Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever studious of the good of his subjects: and from this difference of disposition, the Persians called Darius a merchant; Cambyses, a despot; but Cyrus (that which should be the ambition of all princes to gain), a PARENT.

The PERSIANS (inhabitants of Persia *proper*), and the *Colchians*, together with their *Caucasian* neighbours, were the only provinces, situated *within* the boundary of the empire, that were not classed in Satrapies, and subjected to tribute. They possessed the singular privilege of taxing themselves, and presenting the produce in the form of a gratuity. The origin of this privilege, in Persia, may obviously be referred to its superiority in rank and command. How the Colchians and Caucasians obtained it, we know not. The Ethiopians who bordered on Egypt, and were subdued by Cambyses, were similarly circumstanced; and the Arabians adjacent to Egypt, ever independent of a foreign yoke, presented a gift of frankincense.

Although Herodotus has said, that one part of the arrangement was to join together in one government, provinces that lay remote from each other; yet it is certain, that on a review of the geographical

positions, as far as we are able to determine them, there scarcely appears any thing of this kind ; for though, in some instances, the component districts may form a Satrapy of an inconvenient form, and not at all concentrated, yet they are almost invariably found to lie contiguous to each other.

In the enumeration of them, our Author does not observe in general any kind of geographical connection. For instance, although he begins in *Asia Minor*, and proceeds pretty regularly to *Egypt*, yet he then goes off at once beyond the *Caspian* ; and, moreover, in the course of his description, wanders from one side of the empire to the other ; so that he steps at once from *Bactria* to *Armenia*, and from the *Euxine* to the *Indus*. As it will be a saving of fatigue to the reader to preserve a geographical connection, we shall adopt such an arrangement of our own, as may effect that purpose ; in which, however, we shall add the *original* number likewise, for the sake of reference to the original statement.

Following the example of our Author, we begin in *Asia Minor*, which was divided into four Satrapies ; and proceed thence into the two succeeding ones of Phœnicia and Egypt. By this mode of arrangement, the whole tract of sea coast, which furnished that important aid towards the invasion of Greece, a maritime force, will be given in a connected form. Even in another point of view, it forms a distinct species of territory, as it comprises generally the Greek colonies, and the establishments raised by their industry, arts, and courage, in Asia ;

a wonderful instance of exertion, in states so circumscribed in point of physical extent and means, compared with the rest of the world. To these must be added, *Egypt*, the venerable parent of Grecian arts and superstition; but whose geographical situation having denied her the protection afforded to Greece, occasioned her early fall, to the *increased* power of Persia.

Proceeding thence from the Syrian and Phœnician shores of the Mediterranean, we trace the countries between it and the head of the Persian gulf; and which have Arabia on the south, the Euxine, Caspian, and mount Caucasus, on the north. Within this space are *seven* other Satrapies; so that 13 of the 20 lay to the *west* of Persia *proper*, the *original* kingdom of *Cyrus*. Of course seven others must lie to the east of the same country.

Some of the names of the countries were probably such as the Greeks alone applied to them, and which might not be those used in the countries themselves. Others, such as *Aria*, *Chorasmia*, *Zarang*, *Sogdiana*, &c. are known to have been used in the countries themselves, and are in use there at present. It is therefore probable, that *Media*, *Colchis*, *Bactria*, &c. might be names in use there also, though now lost. *Bactria*, indeed, is likely to have been the same with the *Balk* of the present time. We now proceed to the discussion of the geographical positions of the Satrapies.

The first *four*, as we have said, are contained within the limits usually assigned to *Asia Minor*,

and little difficulty occurs in arranging their limits ; but they are disproportioned in point of extent, and the two first, very irregular in point of form.

### THE SATRAPIES <sup>3</sup>.

I. “ The Iönians <sup>4</sup> and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyceans, and Pamphylans, were comprised under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of 400 talents of silver.” Thalia, 90.

These subdivisions are all well known, and include the sea coast of *Asia Minor*, from the gulf of Adramyttium, and the Troade, on the north, round by *Cnidus*, and the *Triopian* Promontory <sup>5</sup>, to Cilicia, on the east ; an extent of coast equal to about 450 G. miles. The province of *Doris*, as well as those islands of the Archipelago which shelter this deeply indented coast, are, of course, included.

No doubt the long extended, and inconvenient form of this Satrapy, as far as respected the purposes of internal regulation, was calculated to obtain some advantages in the disposition and distribution of the naval armaments intended against Greece ; for the whole of the fleet of *Asia Minor* (save that of the Hellespont and Cilicia) was furnished by the first Satrapy ; and consisted of 357 ships, out of 1207, which formed the strength of the whole naval

<sup>3</sup> The reader is referred to the Map, No V. at page 303, for the geography of the Satrapies.

<sup>4</sup> Iönia began at the gulf of *Jasius* ; Pliny, lib. v. c. 29.

<sup>5</sup> See above, page 244, note.

armament of Xerxes ; and which included also the fleets of Phœnicia and Egypt.

In the catalogue of the nations who composed the armament of Xerxes, all of the above, save the inland province of *Melias* or *Mylias* served in the *fleet*, and formed no part of the *land* force.

The *Milyæ*, in the army of Xerxes, (Polym. 77,) carried short spears, and some of them had Lycian bows.

The *whole* country of the *Lycians* (says our Author) was formerly called *Milyas*. The Lycians were of Cretan origin, but derived their present name from *Lycus*, son of Pandion ; Clio, 173. *Milyas* was afterwards applied to the *inland* part of Lycia, from whence springs the Lycus river, the southern branch of the Meander.

Our Author frequently derives the names of countries in Asia from those individuals who either colonized or reduced it. We find the like in modern times ; as *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, *Georgia*, &c.

II. “ The second Satrapy, which paid 500 talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians.” Thalia, 90.

This division, which is by far the smallest of all the 20, does not appear to have touched on the sea in any part ; for although *Mysia* in later times included the coast of the Troade, and the south coast of the Propontis and Hellespont ; yet we find in the arrangement of our Author, that the *right* side of the Hellespont forms a part of the *third* Satrapy, together with Bithynia or *Asiatic* Thrace.

The greatness of the tribute paid by this Satrapy, in proportion to its very confined limits, calls for an explanation; and none appears more satisfactory than that the sources from whence the vast riches of CRÆSUS, king of Lydia, were derived, were contained in it. These were said to consist of mines of gold and silver; and of gold sand, brought down by the small river *Pactolus*, which flowed from mount *Tmolus* <sup>6</sup>. It appears the more probable, as the arrangement of the Satrapies was made at no great distance of time from the period in which the riches of Cræsus were proverbial <sup>7</sup>.

It is, however, remarkable, that although the bulk of these treasures is understood to have consisted of

<sup>6</sup> Terpsichore, 101. This source of wealth is said to have been exhausted before the time of Augustus. Larcher.

<sup>7</sup> The history of Cræsus, and of his fall, by disputing the empire of Western Asia, with the Medes and Persians, is well known. His empire consisted of the greatest part of Asia Minor; for it was bounded on the east by the river Halys, on the south by Taurus (generally), and extended to the sea, on every other side. There seldom has been a more compact empire; and had he made a right use of the friendship of the Greeks, he might probably have possessed all Asia Minor, and held it in despite of the Persians. The fable of the *dog* and the *shadow*, applies with all its force to this monarch.

"After Cræsus had extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis (his capital) became the resort of the great and the affluent; as well as of such as were celebrated in Greece, for their talents and their wisdom. Among these was SOLON," &c. Clio, 28. The anecdotes of this great legislator, at the court of Cræsus, which follow, are well worth the attention of the reader. Much consolation may be drawn from them; and, as a matter of curiosity, we find wisdom and true philosophy contrasted with folly and weakness, in a very striking manner.



gold, yet that, in the calculation of the whole sum of the tribute of the empire (Thalia, 95); India alone is said to have paid its quota in gold <sup>8</sup>.

In the list of the army, Polym. 74, are found the *Lydians*, anciently called *Meonians*; and the *Ny-sians*, no doubt intended for *Mysians*, who are said to be a *colony* of Lydians. The latter were also called *Olympians*, from mount *Olympus*, which was situated within their country; and which was a marked feature of it, to those who sailed along the Propontis. The Lydians and Mysians had the same commander; and, it would appear, are to be regarded as the same people <sup>9</sup>.

In Polym. 77, the *Cabalian Meonians* are said to be the same with the *Lysonians*, and these must also be taken for the *Alysonians*, just mentioned; which, in Ptolemy, are found under the name of *Lycaones* <sup>1</sup>, between *Caria* and *Pisidia*. The *Cabalians*, therefore, should be regarded as *Meonians* or *Lydians*, like the *Mysians*. They formed a part of

<sup>8</sup> Aristagoras (in his report of the countries between Ionia and Susa), speaking of the Lydians, says, that "they possess a fertile territory, and a profusion of silver;" Terp. 49. Nothing is said concerning gold.

<sup>9</sup> Amongst a number of other modern discoveries, which serve to prove the truth of our Author's descriptions, is the sepulchre of *Alyattes*, king of Lydia, (the father of Cræsus,) described in Clio, 93. Herodotus says, that it is second to no monument of art, save those of the Egyptians and Babylonians. Dr. Chandler saw it, and has described the remains of it, in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 263.

<sup>1</sup> This country is perfectly distinct from *Lycaonia*, which forms the eastern extremity of Phrygia.

the same command with the *Milyans*, their neighbours; who, notwithstanding, belonged to a different Satrapy, as we have shewn above; for the arrangement of the Satrapies of Darius, and the military commanderies of his son Xerxes, are to be considered as perfectly distinct.

Of the *Hygenians* we know nothing. On the whole, the second Satrapy appears to be an inland tract, extending from north to south, between Mount *Olympus* and Mount *Taurus*, bordered by the maritime provinces (which compose the first Satrapy) on the west and south, and by Phrygia on the east.

III. "A tribute of 360 talents was paid by those who inhabit the *right* side of the Hellespont; by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia; by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians: and these nations constituted the third Satrapy." Thalia, 90.

This, compared with the two former, is a very extensive province: although the whole three, collectively, fall short of some of the largest divisions, or Satrapies. It includes the great body of Asia Minor, situated to the north of *Taurus*, and east of *Lydia*; as well as the whole northern coast, from the *Troade* to the river *Thermodon*, in *Pontus*. It is, however, to be remarked, that in all this extent of coast, the Hellespontians and those of *Pontus*, were the only people who furnished ships; and the Hellespontians appear to have sent *four-fifths* of these. This serves to shew that the *Euxine*, then, as well as in latter times, possessed but little commerce of its own. So that it either had no materials which were in request in the commerce of that day, or no consumption of

foreign productions. The southern shores of the Euxine are said to abound with naval stores; as timber, iron, and hemp, in the present times; and, as it would appear from ancient notices, timber and iron were then in great plenty, since two of the nations mentioned by Xenophon, the *Chalybes* and *Mosynæcians*, were evidently denominated, the one from their being workers in iron and steel, the other from the materials of their habitations.

However, these naval stores might not have been in request amongst the commercial nations in the west, because they might have had enough of their own to serve their purposes. For we are not to judge of the consumption of naval stores, at that day, by that of the present; when the coasts of the whole world are ransacked for timber, either for the purposes of war or commerce; and when the forests of Asia, as well as of Europe and America, float on the bosom of the Atlantic.

The country of *Phrygia* occupied the central parts of Asia Minor; and was a country of very great extent. It included, amongst others, the tract afterwards named *Galatia*, from the conquests and settlements made in it by the Gauls. Armenia is said to have been colonized by the Phrygians: the Armenians were armed like the Phrygians, and both nations were commanded by one general, in Polym. 73. And hence it may be inferred, that the intermediate country of Cappadocia also was filled with the same race. Our Author says, in the same place, that, according to the *Macedonians*, the Phrygians, as long as they were *their* neighbours, and lived in Europe, were

called *Bryges*; but that, in passing over into Asia, they took the name of *Phrygians*<sup>2</sup>. So that their progress was *eastward*, and from Europe into Asia, like the Thracians of Asia (or *Bithynians*), who are said, in Polym. 75, to have come from the banks of the *Strymon*. So that the course of migration and conquest, on the *south* of the Euxine, seems to have been *opposite* to that on the *north*.

By the *Syrians* are meant the *Cappadocians*: for it appears from several passages in our Author, (as Clio, 6, 76; Euterpe, 104; Terpsich. 49; and Polym. 72,) that the people of Cappadocia, and at the Euxine sea, at *Sinope*, and along its coasts, from the river *Parthenius* on the west, to the *Thermodon* on the east, were called SYRIANS. Strabo confirms it generally, calling them *Leuco-syri*, or *white Syrians*, in contradistinction to the Syrians on the south of Mount Taurus<sup>3</sup>. But although the Syrians are placed at the river Parthenius, in Euterpe, 104, yet Paphlagonia, which therefore ought also to have been inhabited by Syrians, is arranged under its proper name in this Satrapy; and the Paphlagonians are classed as a distinct people in the list of the army, in Polym. 72. But Sinope is in Paphlagonia, and its inhabitants *Syrians*, in Clio, 72. Hence we must allot, not only Cappadocia, but all the tract between it and the Euxine, to the *Leuco-syri*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In Erato, 45, the *Brygi* of Thrace attack Mardonius, in Macedonia.

<sup>3</sup> Page 736. Pliny also, lib. vi. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be remarked, that Strabo, p. 534, divides Cappadocia into two Satrapies.

The *Mariandynians*, the only remaining people to be spoken of in this Satrapy <sup>5</sup>, occupied a part of the coast of the Euxine between *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*. In the army of Xerxes the Paphlagonians are joined in one command with the *Matieni*, whilst the *Mariandyni* are joined with the *Syrians* and others. One might have suspected that *Matiene* was an error, especially as there is another country of *Matiene* in *Media*. But Herodotus says, in *Clio*, 72, that the river Halys divides *Matiene* on the right, from *Phrygia* on the left; thus pointing out the western part of Cappadocia for the *Matiene* in question. No traces of such a name can, however, be found there, but the description is certainly consistent <sup>6</sup>.

It appears then, that the third Satrapy extended eastward along the Euxine to the river *Thermodon*, in *Pontus*, where it met with the district of the *Tibareni*, belonging to the nineteenth Satrapy. Also, that it extended to the course of the Euphrates, inland; or it may be only to the *Anti-Taurus*, which might divide it from Armenia; and southwards to Mount Taurus.

If we except the *Thracians* of *Asia*, there is scarcely any diversity of dress or weapons through-

<sup>5</sup> We cannot find the *Ligyæ*. Could they be meant for the people of *Lycæonia*? Neither *these* nor the *Pisidians* are classed either in the Satrapies, or in the army, under those names.

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the province of *Tyana* may be the *Matiene* here spoken of, as the situation agrees. Or *Tyana*, as a part, may have given name to the whole. It is, in effect, a part of *Cilicia*; but has sometimes been reckoned to Cappadocia.

out this extensive Satrapy, mentioned in the history of Xerxes' expedition. The dress of these Thracians (Bithynians) consisted chiefly of skins of deer and foxes; (Polym. 75.) The Paphlagonians, with their neighbours, the Mariandynians, the Phrygians, and Syrians (by which are meant Cappadocians), wore helmets of network, with buskins which reached to the middle of the leg; and had for weapons small spears and bucklers, besides javelins and daggers. The Thracians had a general of their own; the Mariandynians and Ligyes had a commander in common; and the Phrygians, as has been said, were joined with the Armenians, their *colonists*.

The Hellespontians, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, sent 100 ships (triremes); Polym. 95; and the people of *Abydos* had the charge of defending the bridge at the Hellespont. The proportion of ships sent by the *Pontics* should be 20 of the 100, as Diodorus states that the others sent 80.

The *Troade*, although not specified here, is included in this division. The siege of Troy, and the circumstances that led to it, are, however, spoken of in other parts of our Author's work <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Doubts have been recently started, not only whether the Trojan war ever happened, but even whether such a city as Troy ever existed.

It may, however, be said, that most of the ancients believed both: and Thucydides, who is no mean authority, marks it as one of the historical facts that is worthy of credit; doubtless from having considered all the different authorities, many of which may now have ceased to exist.

Frequent allusions to the Trojan war occur in Herodotus; and the original cause of the enmity of the Persians to the Greeks is

IV. "The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a *white* horse; that is to say, 360 annually;

said to have been the destruction of Troy: Clio, 5. See also Polym. 161; and Calliope, 27. Xerxes is said to have ascended the *citadel* of Priam: that he sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva, and offered libations to the manes of the heroes; Polym. 43. He, then, believed the above facts: and the same may be said of Alexander; judging by his conduct. We must consider how much nearer to the date of the event these personages lived: for in respect of the times of Xerxes and Alexander, the event of the taking of Troy would be much the same as the conquests of Tamerlane or the Norman conquest to us.

Alexander believed that he saw the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus at Troy; and the consecrated armour in the temple of Minerva; Arrian, lib. i.; and Curtius, lib. ii.

Herodotus was informed by the Egyptian priests, that the Greeks had certainly taken and destroyed the city of Troy; but that, instead of finding Helen there, as they expected, she was at the same moment in Egypt, being detained by King PROTEUS, who afterwards restored her to her husband, Menelaus\*; Euterpe, 116, *et seq.*, and particularly 120.

This event is supposed by Sir Isaac Newton to have happened about 900 years before our era, and consequently about 450 years, or more, before the visit of our Author to Egypt. It may perhaps be allowed, that the tradition preserved by the priests was of equal authority to the Iliad, *in point of history*: and, at all events, the prominent facts of the rape of Helen, and the siege and destruction of Troy, remain exactly as they were.

The matter, then, may perhaps be reduced simply to this: that the above facts may be received, but that the poem of Homer has been ornamented with fictions in order to render it more in-

\* It is proper to remark, that in Clio, 3, the aggressor is named ALEXANDER; but in Euterpe, 113, *et seq.* PARIS, the name by which he is more commonly known, although both may equally belong to him.

with 500<sup>s</sup> talents of silver. Of these, 140 were appointed for the payment of the cavalry stationed for the guard of the country; the remaining 360 were received by Darius: these formed the fourth Satrapy." Thalia, 90.

In this statement we have notices of an arrangement different from that throughout the rest of the empire; and which might have grown out of the importance of Cilicia, considered in a military point of view, as being a post that, according to the hands into which it fell, either connected or separated the two countries of Asia Minor and Persia on the one hand; Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, on the other. Of this much more will be said in a future work, which is to treat, amongst other subjects, of the Cilician passes. Be it as it will, the force sent to Xerxes consisted entirely of ships, 100 in number; as probably they were in greater request at that time than cavalry. Polym. 91.

The boundaries of *Cilicia*, being of the natural kind, and very strongly marked, it may be supposed that they have not *greatly* varied at any time. The

teresting! Who ever thought it necessary to receive as facts all the matter of an epic poem?

It appears also, that too much accuracy is looked for in Homer's description of the ground of the Troade; for why should he be expected to be more accurate in *that* than Virgil in his description of the strait of Messina, with its *Scylla* and *Charybdis*? And yet the latter is known to be merely a poetical fiction.

Herodotus had an idea, Euterpe, 53, that *HOMEK* lived 400 years, and no more, before him.

\* The same number is given by Aristagoras, in Terpsichore, 49.



fertile and capacious valley of *Cataonia*, formed by the separation of the ridges of Taurus, may, at times, have been included, and at others excluded. But it is certain that Herodotus extends Cilicia to the Euphrates, (in *Terpsich.* 52,) where he makes that river the boundary between Cilicia and Armenia, in the line of the great road leading from Sardis to Susa. If this was really so, the Northern Syria (or perhaps Comagena only) must have been reckoned to Cilicia, as the northern part of Mesopotamia, between Mount *Masius* and *Taurus*, really was to Armenia; of which several proofs appear, but more particularly in *Clio*, 194, where boats are said to descend from *Armenia*, above *Assyria*, to Babylon.

By a passage in the book of Judith, (ch. ii. ver. 21,) it also appears as if Cilicia extended to the east of *Amanus*.

V. "The tribute levied from the fifth Satrapy was 350 talents. Under this district was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city of *Posideium* (built on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, by *Amphilochus*, son of *Amphiaraus*), as far as Egypt; part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute<sup>9</sup>. The same Satrapy, moreover, included all *Phœnicia*, the *Syrian Palestine*, and the Island of Cyprus." *Thalia*, 91.

Thus *Phœnicia* and *Palestine* formed the body of this Satrapy, and both were included in *Syria*; (regarded as synonymous with *Assyria*, for this is to be collected from various places in our Author :) and

<sup>9</sup> More will be said concerning this tract in the sequel.

it appears, that in order to complete the boundaries of this division, we have only to find those of *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*.

In *Thalia*, 91, "*Posideium*" is said to lie on "the *frontiers* of *Cilicia* and *Syria*."

*Palestine* and *Phœnicia* are parts of *Syria*, in *Euterpe*, 116 and 158: "*Syria* borders upon *Egypt*; and the *Phœnicians*, to whom *Sidon* belongs, inhabit part of *Syria*"—and "*Syria* is divided from *Egypt* by mount *Casius*."

Again, *Polym.* 89: "The *Phœnicians*, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the *Red* sea; but emigrated from thence to the maritime parts of *Syria*: all which district, as far as *Egypt*, is denominated *Palestine* <sup>1</sup>."

Thus, it appears, that our Author clearly discriminated *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*, from *Syria* at large: and that the name by which he denominates *Palestine*, is usually *SYRIA* of *PALESTINE*.

The boundaries of this Satrapy are by no means difficult to be ascertained: *Posideium* occasions the only difficulty. This city, which is said to have stood on the *common frontier* of *Cilicia* and *Syria*; and consequently on the northern frontier of the *latter*, and of the *Satrapy*, in course; was situated on the sea coast of *Syria*, nearly opposite to mount *Casius* (of *Antioch*). Now, this appears contrary

<sup>1</sup> The reader may perhaps be apprized that the country named *PALESTINE* by the *Greeks*, is called *FALASTIN* by the *Arabs*; and that this last is the *PHILISTINE* of the *Scriptures*. The land of the *Philistines* was that quarter of *Palestine* towards the coast, left in possession of the original inhabitants.

to all the geographical arrangements of the Greeks and Romans ; because Cilicia terminated, and Syria began, at the *pass*, situated at the shore of the gulf of *Issus* : and Posideium stood about 50 miles to the southward of that pass ; and could have no relation to the Cilicia of the Greek and Roman systems.

It is certain, however, that the reported situation of Posideium, on the *northern frontier* of the *Satrapy*, may possibly be true, since Herodotus, who had himself been in Palestine, might, perhaps, have travelled by land to it, from Natolia, in his way to Egypt ; and thus might have ascertained the fact himself : in which case, however, Cilicia must *then* have included a great part of what was afterwards reckoned to Syria. And it is certain, that Cilicia is extended to the Euphrates, in Terpsichore, 52, where it meets Armenia ; as has been shewn in pages 252 and 320. This, therefore, agrees with what is said concerning Posideium ; although it does not agree with the geography of the times of Xenophon and of Alexander.

As to the real boundary of Phœnicia, it is difficult to fix it, although it would seem that *Posideium* was intended for it, by Herodotus. Xenophon calls *Myriandrus* in the gulf of Issus, (which is the *Marandynian* bay, or more properly *Myriandinian* bay of our Author, in Melpom. 38,) a *Phœnician* city : and as Herodotus also says, that this bay is *contiguous* to *Phœnicia*, this should be decisive of its boundary, if Posideium did not stand a good way to the south of the gulf in question ; and was, notwithstanding, the northern extremity of the Satrapy

that was *said* to include ALL *Phœnicia*. Perhaps, as Herodotus and Xenophon appear to concur in the report of the northern boundary of Phœnicia, placed at the southern part of the gulf of Issus; whilst Posideium was the northern point of the Satrapy, and was also reckoned contiguous to *Cilicia*; it may be, that the Phœnicians possessed certain insulated tracts, or townships, along the coast, beyond the extent of their continuous territory: and *Myriandrus* might be one of these<sup>2</sup>.

Phœnicia extended along the coast of the Mediterranean, southward, to the termination of the ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, near Tyre; where it met the border of Palestine. In breadth, it comprehended only the narrow tract between the continuation of mount Lebanon and the sea; with the deep valley between the two ridges, named *Cæle-Syria*; now the valley of Bekaa. This latter was the Phœnicia Libani.

Palestine, Syria of Palestine, or Syrian Palestine, has its boundaries too familiarly known to need description here. It extended from *Phœnicia* and *Cæle-Syria* to the borders of Egypt, fixed by our Author at mount *Casius* (of Arabia), in Euterpe, 158; but in Thalia, 5, at the *Sirbonic* lake, a little to the eastward of that mount. The Arabian territory lying between it and Egypt, and which, in common with Arabia in general, was exempted from tri-

<sup>2</sup> This has happened continually in modern times, as well as in ancient. The European factories on the coast of AFRICA and INDIA are in point.

bute, comprized *Idumea*, (or *Edom*,) the original seat of the *Ishmaelites*.

Herodotus, as we have said, had visited *Palestine*, if not *Phœnicia* also. The city of JERUSALEM he names CADYTIS, doubtless meant for the Arabian name *Al Kads*, the HOLY: in effect, a translation of the other. He says, *Thalia*, 5, "that it is a city belonging to the *Syrians* of *Palestine*; and, in his opinion, equal to *Sardis*." It is mentioned a second time in *Euterpe*, 159, on occasion of its being taken possession of by *Necos*, king of Egypt, after his victory over the *Syrians* at *Magdolum* (*Megiddo*).

He had seen in *Palestine* some of the *pillars*, or *monuments*, erected by SESOSTRIS, in token of conquest; and which had disappeared, for the most part, in the countries that had been conquered by him. See *Euterpe*, 102 and 106. Perhaps these monuments remained longer in the parts adjoining to Egypt, which might be, in some degree, subject to its influence or domination, than in distant parts. Our Author believes that Sesostris overran Asia, and passing into Europe, conquered *Scythia* and *Thrace*: and that thus far, the monuments of his victories are discovered. Also that he left a detachment in *Colchis*: the relation of which circumstance has given occasion to suppose that the Egyptians were black, and had *crisped* and *curling* hair, like the negroes. The context, surely, leads to a belief of the fact; although *we* may not be prepared to receive it. But at the same time, it is to be remarked, that he classes Egypt, geographically, as a country quite distinct from *Libya* (or *Africa*): that is, he

does not allow the Egyptians to be *Africans*. See Euterpe, 16 and 17.

To return to the Syrians of Palestine.—He remarks that *these*, as well as the *Phœnicians*, acknowledged that they borrowed the custom of circumcision from Egypt: and says, that it can be traced, both in Egypt and Æthiopia, to the remotest antiquity; so that it is not possible to say which of the two first introduced it; but that the Egyptians unquestionably communicated it to other nations, by means of their commercial intercourse; Euterpe, 104. Without entering into the question concerning the origin of this custom, one may be allowed to remark, that, if our Author had made the inquiry amongst the *Jews* themselves (who should be meant by the *Syrians of Palestine*), they would surely have told him otherwise: and it is probable, therefore, that he took his information from the Egyptians.

He seems to have known but little concerning the history of the Jews. The date of his visit to Palestine and Jerusalem (which latter, one must conclude by his expression above quoted, in page 324, he had certainly seen,) was short of a century after the re-establishment of the temple and worship, after the Babylonish captivity. But he is, notwithstanding, quite silent respecting the Jewish customs and worship, although he says so much concerning those of the Egyptians. He is equally silent concerning the revolutions in this celebrated and highly interesting spot. This appears very remarkable: for though the captivity must have greatly changed the face of

things in Palestine <sup>3</sup>, yet the singular institutions and modes of life of the Jews, not only drew forth the most pointed remarks from the Roman writers, at a much latter period, but are acknowledged at the present day, to constitute a kind of standing miracle <sup>4</sup>.

No man whatsoever was a truer friend to the interests of the human race than Herodotus: had he, therefore, been endowed with a prophetic spirit, to have foreseen that from Palestine there was to arise a LIGHT to guide the footsteps of men to the highest state of happiness that this world affords, by humanizing them, and making them fitter for the purposes of society; and, moreover, by giving them hopes of a better state hereafter; he would have thought it a spot of much more importance than he attaches to it.

He refers to this quarter of the world the important invention of letters: and there seems to be no doubt, that the alphabets of the *Western* world were derived from this source alone. He ob-

<sup>3</sup> Palestine had, since the flourishing times of DAVID and SOLOMON, suffered from the invasions of the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Egyptians and Scythians: and those classes of people which determine the national character, and weight, in the eyes of foreigners, had either been removed or annihilated.

<sup>4</sup> See in particular Diodorus, lib. i. c. 8; and the remains of the xxxivth and xlth. These passages will also be considered in a future section, in which we shall touch slightly on the subject of the FIRST CAPTIVITY of the Israelites, by the king of Nineveh.

serves, Terpsichore, 58, that "the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus (into Bœotia) introduced, during their residence in Greece, various articles of science; and amongst other things, LETTERS; with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were, at first, such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form. At that time, the Greeks most contiguous to this people were the Iōnians, who learnt these letters of the Phœnicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required, PHŒNICIAN letters <sup>5</sup>."

The extended scale of the Phœnician commerce, is a theme of ancient history, as well sacred as profane. The *amber* of Prussia, and the *tin* of Britain; the *linen* of Egypt, and the *spices* of Arabia; the *slaves* of Caucasus; and the *horses* of Scythia; appear to have centered in their emporium <sup>6</sup>. There

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus adds, Terps. 58, that, "by a very ancient custom, the Iōnians call their *books* DIPHTERÆ, or SKINS; because, at a time when the plant of the *biblos* was scarce, they used instead of it, the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the BARBARIANS have used these skins, for this purpose, within my recollection."

The Persians name a *record*, or *writing*, DUFTER. Is it not probable, that the Ionians borrowed the term from the Persians, together with the use of the skin itself, the name of which may perhaps be rendered PARCHMENT?

<sup>6</sup> These last, we should understand, by the merchants of *Ivan*, *Tubal*, and *Mesheck*, "who traded in the *persons of men*, and vessels of brass, in the markets:" and the house of *Togarmah*,



is, however, no intimation of *Indian* productions, in the catalogue of merchandizes just mentioned, although they appear to have possessed two islands in the Persian gulf, whose names, *Tyrus* and *Aradus*, mark them for Phœnician possessions. These seem to have been two of the smaller islands, near the entrance of the gulf, and not those of *Bahrein*, as M. D'Anville has supposed ; for they are placed by Strabo, p. 766, at ten days' voyage from the mouth of the Euphrates ; *one* only from the Promontory of *Maceta* (Massendon). Ptolemy, Tab. vi. Asia, places them exactly in the same position, and marks the Bahrein Islands (or those which represent them), also.

According to our Author, India had been recently explored, by the orders of Darius Hystaspes, and seems to have been little known to the Persians before his time. Ezekiel prophesied concerning the destruction of Tyre, only 60 or 70 years before Darius : and, as we have said, no traces of Indian products or manufactures appear in his catalogue. The two accounts, therefore, agree : and impress an idea, that the Phœnicians did not trade to India at that period. Had they known, and traded to, India *through* the Persian empire, the Persians, doubtless, would not have been ignorant of India : which, if we are to credit our Author, they were, previous to the expedition set on foot by Darius, and conducted by Scylax, who first explored the Indus, and the coasts between it and Persia, &c.

“ who traded in the fairs with *horses*,” &c. Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. ver. 13 and 14.

It may therefore have been, that these discoveries, and the consequent union of *Western* India, with the empire of Persia, laid the foundation of a commerce between those countries, although the communication between Egypt and India might have existed much earlier. And, it is not impossible, that the visit of Darius to Egypt, which was in the train of Cambyses <sup>7</sup>, and little more than a century after the date of the splendid discoveries of the Egyptians in the Southern ocean, might have given him the idea of prosecuting discoveries in the East, from the gulf of Persia. He might also have learnt at the same time, that the Egyptians had a commerce with India, by sea.

The Phœnicians, however, are said to have traded in the produce of Assyria (meaning the empire of that name, Clio, c. 1.), and which, probably, included not only that of Assyria Proper, but of Persia and Arabia also, transmitted *through* Assyria. The inland *carrying trade* was no doubt effected by the camels of Palmyra; which place therefore formed an important link in the chain of communication <sup>8</sup>. It might not have suited the convenience, perhaps not the dignity, of the Phœnician merchants, to become the camel-keepers of the desert.

<sup>7</sup> He was one of the guards of Cambyses, and, although of royal descent, being of the family of the Achæmenides, was at that time of no particular consideration. See a very curious anecdote of Darius Hystaspes, in *Thalia*, 139; and an account of his parentage and descent, in *Clio*, 209.

<sup>8</sup> More will be said concerning this subject, in a future work.

The Phœnicians, who, although at one period denominated Erythræans, either from their real, or supposed origin, from the shores of the Red sea, were, no doubt, an assemblage of industrious and enterprising adventurers, from all the *neighbouring* countries at least; and perhaps from very distant ones also. Great wages of labour, and great profits of trade, would invite the different classes of mankind; and with such a people, gain must have been the prime object. Our Author gives, at the very opening of his history, a curious anecdote of Phœnician *commerce*, and Phœnician *perfidy*. They traded, amongst other places, to *Argos*, which was, at the period spoken of, the most famous of all those states, which were afterwards comprehended under the general appellation of GREECE. A Phœnician ship lying at the shore, so that people could walk to and fro, exposes her merchandizes to sale, on the shore, close to the ship. The king's daughter, Iö, comes, with many other females, either as a visitor, or a purchaser. "Whilst (says the historian), these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped, but Iö remained a captive with many others. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Egypt," Clio, c. 1. It is to be remarked, that these Phœnicians, like true traders, did not venture to commit this act of violence, until they had nearly disposed of their cargo,

and were paid for it. A commander of a slave ship, on the coast of Africa, could not have acted with more worldly prudence !

The aid furnished by this Satrapy to the armament of Xerxes, was composed entirely of ships ; and consisted of the amazing force of 450 triremes ; 300 of which were from the continent, 150 from the Island of Cyprus. This was more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole fleet of triremes ; and more than double the quota furnished by Egypt. But then it was the combined force of *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Cyprus* ; the boasted fleets of Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and the numerous ports of Syria, from *Egypt* to *Cilicia*.

It has been said, in the geographical description of this Satrapy, page 320, that a portion of Arabia intervened between Palestine and Egypt ; and that, in common with the rest of Arabia, it remained independent of Persia. The tract in question consists of Idumea (or Edom), and the desert which bordered on the sea coast between *Gaza* and *Pelusium* ; and which affects, in a material degree, the act of communication between the two countries. But, as it appears to belong as much to the subject of *Egypt*, as of *Syria*, we shall postpone the consideration of it, till that of Egypt has been discussed, since that will contribute in a considerable degree to its elucidation.

VI. " Seven hundred talents were exacted from Egypt, from the Africans which border upon Egypt, and from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Egyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris was not included in

this, neither was the corn, to the amount of 700 talents more; 120,000 measures of which were applied to the maintenance of the Persians and their auxiliary troops, garrisoned within the *white* castle of Memphis; this was the sixth Satrapy." Thalia, 91<sup>o</sup>.

This Satrapy, then, consisted of the *entire* country of Egypt, together with certain tracts of Libya adjacent to it on the west; and which extended along the sea coast of the Mediterranean, to the utmost limit of *Cyrenaica*: for Herodotus says, Melpom. 204, that "the farthest progress of the Persian army, was to the country of the *Euesperidæ*;" by which is intended the *western* limit of *Cyrenaica*, near the garden of the *Hesperides*; of which more in the sequel, under the head of Africa. *Cyrene*, *Barce*, and other Libyan provinces, had been nominally surrendered to Cambyses (Thalia, 13); but were not, we believe, taken possession of: it was during the reign of Darius Hystaspes, that the Persians above-mentioned made the expedition to the westward<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Egypt and Cyrene, although parts of Africa, and therefore belonging to a different division from that now under consideration; yet, as forming a part of the twenty Satrapies, they could not, in point of regularity, be omitted in this place. However, they are here considered merely as political divisions; and will be spoken of more at large in their proper places, under the head of AFRICA.

<sup>1</sup> The conquest of Egypt had been left to Cambyses by Cyrus. It is said in Clio, 153, that Cyrus was prepared for serious resistance, from the *Sacæ* and *Egyptians*. The first he reduced; the latter it is said, in another place, was left to his successor.

As to the *Africans*, who are said to *border* on Egypt, and were subject to Persia, they were probably the people of the *Oases* in that neighbourhood ; and perhaps also, those bordering immediately on Upper Egypt, between *Syene* and the great cataract (of *Jan Adel*) ; although these, in effect, constituted a part of Egypt at large. They could not be meant for the people of *Ammon*, since the army of Cambyses perished in the attempt to reach their country, so that both *Ammon* and *Augela* must be regarded as independent. Much less could the *Ethiopians* be intended, for they are expressly said to be independent. It is said, in *Thalia*, 97, that even the Ethiopians, who were subdued by Cambyses, in his expedition against the Macrobian Ethiopians, were not included in the tribute levied on the Egyptian Satrapy ; but *presented*, like the Persians, and some few others, a *regular gratuity*. As the progress of Cambyses towards the *Macrobian*s (whom we regard as the *Abyssinians*), was said to be less than one-fifth of the whole way (*Thalia*, 25), it must be supposed that he never got *through* the *desert* of *Selima* : that is, on a supposition that *Thebes* was the place of outset, and *Sennar* the entrance into the country of the Macrobian. Of course, the conquests made in this quarter could have been but trifling, and the sum of the present seems to shew it. It consisted of two *chænixes* of gold, *unrefined* ; 200 blocks of ebony wood ; 20 large elephants' teeth, and five Ethiopian youths. It was repeated once in *three* years ; and the custom was continued to the time of Herodotus. *Thalia*, 97.

The *chaenix* of Attica is reckoned by Arbutnot the 48th part of a *medimnus*, which being about 70 English pints, of  $34\frac{1}{2}$  cubic inches, a *chaenix* may be taken at somewhat less than a *pint and half*. Hence, the value of the gold *dust* presented once in three years, might be about 80 guineas.

It may clearly be collected, that the gold, which constituted a part of this present, was sent in the form of *dust* (as it is commonly called); because the quantity was ascertained by the *chaenix*, which was a measure for dry goods amongst the Greeks; and not by weight, as in other cases. Moreover, it was said to be *unrefined*: which, no doubt, meant exactly in the state in which it was, and is still, collected, in the African rivers.

The Egyptian force *originally*<sup>2</sup> sent to Xerxes, consisted, like that of Cilicia, entirely of ships, and of which they sent no less than 200 triremes<sup>3</sup>; but the other districts of this Satrapy sent land forces; having, it may be concluded, no ships to send.

It appears that Xerxes, collecting the naval force of the Mediterranean, from the Hellespont inclusive, to Libya, had a fleet of somewhat more than 1200 triremes; for he wisely fixed the contingencies of the maritime provinces in *ships*, in order to collect the greatest possible force by sea; having his choice of land troops from every other quarter of his vast empire<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This will presently be explained.

<sup>3</sup> The maritime force of Egypt was equal to  $\frac{2}{3}$  of that of all Phœnicia at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the *triremes*, there were 3000 vessels of 30 and 50

It is said, Polym. 96, that amongst the mariners, the *Phœnicians* (as might have been expected) were the best; and of the Phœnicians, the *Sidonians* were the *most select*<sup>5</sup>. The crews of the ships, c. 184, are said to have consisted generally of 200 (these were *triremes*); to which were added 30 others, either *Persians*, *Medes*, or *Sacæ* (*i. e. Scythians*, subject to *Persia*)<sup>6</sup>. This last description of men, may perhaps be considered in the nature of *marines*; and it is worthy of remark, that the proportion of them to the rest of the crew, does not differ much from the proportion of marines to our crews in these times. As the *Medes* and *Persians* were esteemed the *best* troops of the empire; and

oars; of long transports for cavalry, and of a particular kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians, Polym. 97. Thus the whole fleet consisted of about 4200 vessels. (The reader is requested to correct accordingly, the note in page 167, where 3000 is stated to be the number of the *whole* fleet.)

<sup>5</sup> In Polym. 128, it is said, that Xerxes preferred the *Sidonian* ships, when he had occasion to make an excursion by sea. This fully proves his opinion of them. The like occurs in c. 100, on occasion of the *naval* and *military review* at *Doricus*. See also, c. 59. The naval review is described in c. 100; the 1200 *triremes* were moored in one uniform line, at 400 feet from the shore, with their sterns towards the sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes, sitting on the deck of a *Sidonian* vessel, beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly, the heads of the ships. The crews of the ships of war, alone, amounted to nearly 280,000 men; and of the whole fleet collectively (4200 ships) near 520,000.

<sup>6</sup> The ships of *Chios*, in number 100, had each a crew of 400, in the preceding reign, Erato, 15. This agrees very nearly with the numbers in the contending fleets of the Romans and Carthaginians, in their most improved times of naval warfare.



the *Sacæ*, as Scythians, some of the best archers ; it may be concluded, that some services of a different kind, and requiring more skill in certain modes of combat, were expected from them, than from the crews in general ; and it is not improbable, that this skill might be exerted in the management of missile weapons in distant fight. More of this, when we speak of the *Sacæ* themselves <sup>7</sup>.

The Egyptians wore helmets made of *network* (like the nations of Asia Minor). Their shields were of a convex form, having large *bosses* ; their spears were calculated for sea service <sup>8</sup>, and they had huge battle-axes, besides large swords <sup>9</sup>. For defensive armour, they had breast-plates. Polym. 89.

The Libyans were dressed in *skins*, and had the points of their wooden spears hardened in the fire, Polym. 81. These were, in point of weapons, the most contemptibly furnished of any throughout the whole army ; in which were every kind of offensive weapon, from polished steel, to wood hardened in the fire ; with all the intermediate varieties of *fish*

<sup>7</sup> The *whole* crew of the ship was 230, of which 30 were *Sacæ*, &c. Such of our ships as have crews of 240 men, have 37 marines ; and, according to the same proportion, the Persian ships should have had 35 to 230.

The Author feels a particular degree of satisfaction in finding the same term, *MARINES*, employed by his friend Dr. Gillies, in his excellent History of Greece. The idea had been recorded by both, without the previous knowledge of the other.

<sup>8</sup> Spears have been universally used at all times, in sea service ; to prevent boarding, no doubt. Some of these mariners had *two* spears.

<sup>9</sup> Littlebury translates this, *bill*, or *bill-hook*.

*bone, horn, and stones*; and of defensive armour, from coats of mail of burnished steel, formed in scales, like those of fishes (which the Persians wore, Polym. 61.), to the *raw* hides of animals.

The Ethiopians (of Africa) were clad in skins of panthers and lions, and had bows of palm wood, four cubits in length. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds, and were pointed with stone<sup>1</sup>; (69.) They had also spears, pointed with goats' horn, and knotty clubs. They painted their bodies half red, half white; and had hair more *crisp* and *curling* than any other men; 70. They are said to come from *above* Egypt; (69.) and are to be regarded, not as subjects, but as allies, of Persia; in common with the Arabians and some few others.

The Arabians were joined in the same command with these Ethiopians; and a brother of Xerxes commanded them; Polym. 69. The Arabians were probably *Idumeans* and *Nabatheans*; and not of Arabia Felix. There were of these, cavalry, as well as infantry: the former, who had many camels belonging to them, were said to place these animals in the rear, that the horses might not be frightened at them<sup>2</sup>; 87. The dresses of the Arabians were *long flowing vests*, called *ziræ*: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked; 69.

The Africans are said to have fought in chariots; Polym. 86. These were probably from the quarter of *Cyrene*; for our Author observes of the *Asbystæ*,

<sup>1</sup> Said to be stones of the kind used for engraving seals.

<sup>2</sup> This was an error of long standing, but is now quite exploded.

(Melpom. 170.) that they are beyond all the Africans remarkable for their use of chariots, drawn by four horses : and in 189, he says, that the Greeks themselves borrowed from the Africans the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

It is proper to explain the cause of the appearance of Egyptian land forces at the battle of *Plataea*, after it has been stated, that they sent a naval force only ; and that their *spears* were calculated for sea service. It appears, then, Calliope, 32, that Mardonius had landed at *Phalerum* (one of the ports of *Attica*), that part of the Egyptian force, which had been originally disciplined for land service ; and which was drawn from the tribes or classes of *Hermotyrians* and *Calasirians* ; who alone of that country, followed the profession of arms. (See an account of the districts of these tribes, &c. in Euterpe, 164, 165, and 168.) The *pilots*, or *seamen*, constituted a distinct class.

It may be inferred from the above, that the proportion of *seamen* was very small indeed, in the ancient ships ; as also that the *manœuvres*, and general duty of the ships of war, were so far from being complicated, that landmen who had got rid of their sea-sickness were very soon, and easily, trained to it. The sails were probably furled on the deck.

We shall now perform our promise respecting the tract lying between Palestine and the borders of Egypt ; which is become more particularly interesting at this time, when Egypt, and its communications with Syria, occupy so much of the public attention.

Herodotus observes, *Thalia*, 4, *et seq.* that the only avenue by which Egypt can be entered, from the side of Palestine, is by a *dry* and *parched desert*, where *very little* water can be procured<sup>3</sup>. That Cambyses, who meditated the conquest of Egypt, was deterred by this difficulty, until he obtained permission of the king of Arabia to pass through his territories (that is, *Idumea*, and the desert of *Pelusium*); which seems to have implied also the service of supplying water for the army, by his means<sup>4</sup>. A treaty was accordingly made, and the ceremonies of its ratifications are given<sup>5</sup>; (*Thalia*, 8.) after which, water was provided in the desert for the Persian army, in its march from Palestine to Pelusium, the frontier garrison of Egypt, situated at the *embouchure* of the *then* eastern branch of the Nile: but this celebrated river has so far deviated from its former course, that Damietta, situated at the branch which

<sup>3</sup> The southern part of PALESTINE bordering on the desert, is also very sandy; so that water can only be procured from deep wells. See the contests between the Patriarchs and the Philistines, about the wells, in Genesis, ch. xxi. and xxvi. *Beer Sheba*, or the well of Sheba, and Gerar, were situated on the edge of the desert in question.

<sup>4</sup> "The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia (or indeed, to any foreign power), but were in its alliance; they afforded Cambyses the means of penetrating into Egypt, *without which he could never have accomplished his purpose.*" *Thalia*, 88.

<sup>5</sup> It is there said, that BACCHUS and URANIA were the only deities whom they venerated; and that they called Bacchus, *Urotalt*; Urania, *Alilat*. The latter must be taken for ALLAH; the name of God, amongst the Arabs.

forms the present eastern limit of the *Delta*, is between 60 and 70 British miles to the westward of Pelusium : and much of the intermediate space is returned to its ancient condition of a desert <sup>6</sup>.

Our Author observes, that there were two stories in circulation, respecting the mode of conveying the water ; the one, and which he thought the most probable, was by transporting it on camels, in skins (of camels) ; which is the mode used at the present day, in the caravans. The other, that it was conducted in pipes, made of the skins of animals, into reservoirs, at *three* distinct places. It was added, that the water was brought from a river (*Corys*), which emptied itself into the Red sea, and was 12 journies distant. This was, however, the marvellous part of the story : but perhaps the truth might have been, that water was conducted through pipes into reservoirs, either from small running springs, whose waters were ordinarily absorbed by the sands of the desert (which is the case in many places) ; or from *draw-wells*. It appears morally impossible to have supplied a *Persian* army, and its *followers*, and beasts of burthen, with water, by means of *skins*, during the whole march. Arabia could scarcely have supplied skins enough <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Damietta*, was the *Tamiathis* of ancient geography ; and the branch of the Nile that runs by it, was the *Phatmetic* ; the fourth in order of the seven branches, in going westward from *Pelusium*. It appears to be the deepest of the modern branches ; and ought to have been deep anciently ; since the fleet of Antigonus was ordered to shelter itself there. Diodorus, lib. xx. c. 4.

<sup>7</sup> An arrangement, somewhat similar to the former, made by

If we may judge of the nature of the Idumean and Pelusiatic deserts, by those of Syria, Arabia, &c.

Nadir Shah (Kouli Kan), is related by ABDUL KURREEM, translated by Mr. Gladwin; p. 51, *et seq.*

Whilst employed in the conquest of Khowarezm, (1740) he informed the governor of *Meru-Shahjehan*, that, on his return, he should march from Charjoo on the Jihon, by way of Meru and Kelat, to Meshed, his capital; and gave him the following information and instructions: "That from the river *Jihon (Oxus)* to the borders of Meru, being a sandy desert, the army could not march above 11 farsangs a day (cosses of two British miles are probably meant; a farsang is nearer four), so that it would take them up four days\* to go from Charjoo to Meru. That, for the first day's march, they would carry sufficient water from the Jihon. That although, at the second stage, there is a large lake called *Ab Issar*, yet for fear it should not be sufficient for so large an army, the governor should order about 30 *Baghleyeh* wells to be sunk there. (The well so called, and which is used in all sandy soils, is made by sinking a frame of wood, stuffed with straw, or grass, to line the inside of the well, and prevent the sand from falling into it.) At the third stage, 18 such wells were to be made. For the fourth day, he was ordered to dig a large reservoir, and to supply it with water, by making a canal three farsangs in length from the river of Meru. This last stage was 15 *farsangs* †. Finally, he directed him to make a great number of *water bags* for camels and mules, and to *borrow* as many more as he could find; which were to be filled at the *new* reservoir, and sent onwards five farsangs, that the men might be able to allay their thirst on the march. The governor of Meru punctually executed these several commands." Notwithstanding these precautions, we learn (p. 69.) that many died on the march.

Thus the tyrants of the earth command the labour of man, in order to rivet, more firmly, the chains of his fellows.

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\* It should be five, by the sequel. Such inaccuracies perpetually occur in the writings of the Orientalists.

† More probably *cosses*.

there should be in the inland tract, (although not in the line followed by the caravans, which passes very near the sea,) both wells and springs; and it was easy for the army to make a *detour* for that purpose. From the journals of passengers across the *Arabian* desert, it appears that the Arabs well know where to obtain water; and that they have, in many places, stopt up the wells, in order the more easily to arrange their schemes of depredation. But, as it happens, that camels will go several days without water, the caravans are content with a very few watering places; and disregard personal inconveniences. It is a strong presumptive proof of there being water to be had, *generally*, in the Arabian desert, that the caravans, if they please, make a direct line of course across it<sup>8</sup>.

Herodotus says, Thalia, 5, that the Syrian city of *Jenysus* is three journies from mount *Casius* (of Egypt); or rather, perhaps, the distance should be understood to be meant from the lake Serbonis; to a part of which it is nearly adjacent. Thus, the text allows us to place *Jenysus* at no great distance to the SW of *Gaza* (and between it and Raphia); and to this circumstance of geographical position, others will be found to agree, so as to leave very little doubt that *Jenysus* was situated on the Syrian

<sup>8</sup> The reader is referred to the very curious narratives of the journies of English travellers from Aleppo to Palmyra, in the years 1678 and 1691, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xix. Their guides found both springs and wells. See also the journal of Mr. Eyles Irwin across the Syrian and Arabian deserts: of Mr. Carmichael, in *Grose's Voyages*, &c.

edge of the desert ; and that it may be identified with the *Kan*, or *caravanserai*, of *Iönes* (*Kan Iönes*), situated at five or six hours' travelling to the SW of Gaza <sup>o</sup>.

The modern travellers across the desert in question, represent it in the line of the caravan route, from Egypt to Syria, to be formed of loose sand, and destitute of *good* water ; corresponding with the "dry and parched desert," of our Author <sup>1</sup>. The route leads from Cairo, which is situated near the banks of the Nile, to *Salahiah*, or *Salhia*, the eastern frontier of the habitable part of Egypt (anciently *Sile*) ; and thence, leaving the site of Pelusium about three miles to the north, it soon after approaches the sea coast, which it afterwards skirts, the whole way to Gaza, at the distance of a few miles. At, or near, *Kan Iönes*, the country begins again to have verdure, trees, and good water, being the first of those productions that are to be seen after leaving *Salahiah* <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> With respect to the position of *Jenysus*, Mr. BELOE is unquestionably right, in his note to *Thalia*, 5. M. D'Anville was of the same opinion.

<sup>1</sup> See M. Thevenot, *Della Valle*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Salahiah* may be regarded as the *pass*, on the side of Egypt towards Syria, as *Gaza* is on the Syrian side. Therefore, in respect to its *use*, it stands in the place of the ancient *Pelusium*, which was reckoned the key of Egypt ; possessing, like *Salahiah*, the first drinkable water, in coming from the side of the desert. By the retreat of the Nile, westward, *Salahiah*, although more to the west than *Pelusium*, becomes the most advanced watering place towards Syria. The use of establishing a post here, by the French, lately, is therefore manifest. Geogra-



The distance appears to be 107 G. miles *direct*, from Salahiah to *Kan Iönes*; and this is the extent of the desert: that is, a space equal to 10 *ordinary* marches of an army, and not, at any rate, to be performed in less than seven days, if water could be procured. This was the interval of time that the caravan, in which M. Thevenot travelled, was in motion, although they halted two or three days by the way.

The space between mount *Casius* and *Kan Iönes*, is about 60 G. miles *direct*; but the lake of *Sirbonis* approaches many miles nearer to *Kan Iönes*, and therefore the three journies allowed by Herodotus, between *Jenysus* and the *lake*, may be allowed to accord with that, between the *lake* and *Iönes*; taking a day's journey at 17 G. miles in *direct* distance. Hence, *Kan Iönes* may well be taken for *Jenysus*.

But from *Jenysus* to *Pelusium*, the distance was about 90 such miles; or, *Pelusium* was 30 miles farther than mount *Casius* from *Jenysus*. Herodotus is silent concerning this part of the road, as if the desert had been confined to the first three days. This must remain unexplained; but, in the present day, it appears to be one continued desert, from *Kan Iönes* to the borders of Egypt; and the history of the march of Antigonus seems to prove the same state of things then.

phically, it lies about 18 G. miles to the SW of the site of *Pelusium*: and about the same distance inland from the *Mediterranean*.

Thus, it appears, that in order to pass an army from Syria into Egypt, or *vice versa*, either the friendship and assistance of the Arabs must be secured, or a supply of water must be *carried* by the army itself; or in ships or boats, to the coast of the desert. Since the time of Cyrus, at least, Egypt and Syria have generally been subject to one master, which has served to facilitate the communication between them.

The expedition of Antigonus against Ptolemy, king of Egypt, (B.C. 304), although pretty much detailed in Diodorus, (lib. xx. c. 4), affords no explanations relative to the mode of procuring water.

It appears that he sent his fleet, which consisted of 150 ships of war, and 100 transports, or store ships, from Gaza, under the command of his son Demetrius; and marched himself at the head of the army, from the same place, for *Pelusium*, with a view to surprise Ptolemy. The fleet was directed to arrange its motions so as to communicate with the army; and the army kept very *close* to the sea shore, or to that of the lake *Sirbonis*. It was said to consist of 80,000 foot, 8000 horse, and above eighty elephants.

Antigonus had collected an incredible number of camels from Arabia; and making use of these, and other beasts of burthen, and a great number of carriages, he took with him, through the desert, provisions and forage. The soldiers also carried with them ten days' provisions: but nothing is said respecting the provision of water; whether it made a part of the lading of the camels, whether the soldiers took it

with them, or whether there was any arrangement for a supply from the Arabs of the desert, according to the method employed by Cambyses. The fleet, either through bad weather or calms, was often separated from the army, so that no regular supply could be derived from the ships, although, by the nature of the original disposition, one might conclude that it had been intended.

Nothing, therefore, can be gathered respecting the mode by which Antigonos supplied his vast army with water. It is certain that the historian does not record any complaint of the want of it: and it might be, that he was not aware of the difficulty of procuring it.

It appears that Ptolemy was well provided for the reception of Antigonos. He had lined the banks of the river of Pelusium, which was at that season very deep, with fortifications; and had also provided a *flotilla* in each of the mouths of the Nile, so that the enemy was foiled in every attempt to land from his fleet: and he was finally compelled to retreat with disgrace to Syria<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus relates (in Thalia, 6, 7,) a curious particular concerning the disposal of the *jars* in which wine was sent to Egypt from Greece and Phœnicia. These jars were collected by the Persians (after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses) at Memphis, and sent, full of Nile water, to the desert, to aid the communication across it, when Egypt and Syria were both in their hands. This was certainly a very useful arrangement. Diodorus, lib. xix. c. 6, reports, that the *Nabatheans* of the adjoining desert, kept stores of rain water in earthen vessels, concealed in the ground, from whence, as from a grand magazine, they drew forth sufficient quantities for their ordinary expenditure.

IX. We are now compelled to depart from the numerical arrangement of Herodotus for the reasons stated at the outset, (page 307), and to enter next on his ninth Satrapy, *Assyria*, &c. although no more than the seventh in our *geographical* arrangement, *his* seventh Satrapy being situated beyond the Caspian sea.

“BABYLON, and the *other parts* of ASSYRIA, constituted the ninth Satrapy, and paid 1000 talents of silver, with 500 young eunuchs.” Thalia, 92.

This Satrapy is one of the most extensive and rich of any. Assyria, in the idea of Herodotus (and which is further explained by Strabo), comprehended not only Assyria *proper*, by which is to be understood the country beyond the Tigris, and of which Nineveh was the capital, but Syria and *Mesopotamia* <sup>4</sup> likewise, as well as *Babylonia*: for our Author says, “*Babylon* and the *rest of the Assyrians* :” and Assyrians and Babylonians are synonymous terms in Clio, 106, 178 ; and Thalia, 155 <sup>5</sup>.

In effect, SYRIA, in the contemplation of our Author, as well as of Strabo, was a *member* of *Assyria*, and appears to be only the same name a little abridged, perhaps without the article. In the enumeration of the army of Xerxes, Polym. 63, speaking of the *Assyrians*, “These people the Greeks call *Syrians*, the Barbarians *Assyrians* ; mixt with these were the *Chaldeans*.” And in his description of the

<sup>4</sup> The term *Mesopotamia* seems to be of a later date than the time of Herodotus.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, as well as others, extend ASSYRIA in like manner. See the xvth book of Strabo, particularly.

regions of Asia, Melpom. 39, no country is mentioned between *Persia* and *Phœnicia*, save ASSYRIA and ARABIA; and he adds, that "the whole of this region is occupied by *three* nations only:" these, therefore, we must suppose to be the *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*.

However, it is certain that he also uses the term SYRIA to express, collectively, SYRIA properly so called, together with SYRIA of PALESTINE, and PHœNICIA, as we have already shewn in page 321; although the two latter are not classed as belonging to the Satrapy of *Assyria*, but to that of *Phœnicia*. The Syrians, north of Taurus, or the *Leuco-syri*, have been already spoken of, and are totally distinct from these.

This Satrapy, then, extended in length from the Mediterranean sea, opposite Cyprus<sup>6</sup>, to the head of the Persian gulf; and in breadth from Mount Taurus to the Arabian desert, having *Cissia* (Susiana), *Media*, and *Matiene*, on the east; *Armenia* and *Cap-padocia* on the north (the former of which seems to have commenced at Mount *Masius*); *Arabia* on the south; and on the west *Cilicia*, the *Mediterranean* sea, *Phœnicia*, and *Palestine*<sup>7</sup>.

According to our Author, Clio, 192, Babylonia was reckoned equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Asia, in point of revenue, previous (as we understand it) to the time of Cyrus;

<sup>6</sup> *Posideium*, which stood on the borders of *Cilicia* and *Syria* (Thalia, 91), was nearly opposite to *Cyprus*. See above, pages 321 and 322.

<sup>7</sup> The physical geography of this tract has been spoken of in Section VIII.

and its government was deemed by much the noblest in the empire. It must be conceived that by Babylonia, Assyria in general was meant. Herodotus speaks of its fertility and produce in terms of admiration: the Euphrates was the principal agent of this fertility, but he remarks that it does not, like the Egyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but by the dispersion of its waters by manual labour, or by hydraulic engines; the country, like Egypt, being intersected by a number of canals; Clio, 193. It appears evidently, that he had himself visited Babylonia: he speaks of the *palm* as abounding there (as Xenophon after him); and was no stranger to the distinction of sexes in these trees; but seems to be mistaken in certain parts of the œconomy of nature in this matter<sup>8</sup>.

He has collected a number of curious particulars respecting *Babylon* and its province, which would occupy too much room in this place; and therefore we refer the reader to the book itself: but as the reader will no doubt be gratified at finding that any custom described by Herodotus exists in the present times, either wholly or in part, we shall not pass over in silence his description of a particular kind of boat seen by him on the rivers of Babylon. These were of a circular form, and composed of *willows*, covered with *skins*. They were constructed in *Armenia* (Upper Mesopotamia), in the parts above Assyria,

<sup>8</sup> See Clio, 194. He says that the palm produces *bread, wine, and honey*. Xenophon also speaks of the palms of Babylonia much in the same manner.

and on their arrival at Babylon, the owners having disposed of their cargoes, they also sold all the materials of the boats, save the skins, which they carried again into Armenia, in order to use them in the construction of other boats. But the rapidity of the stream being too great to render their return by water practicable, they loaded the skins on the backs of asses, which were brought in the boats for that purpose. Some of these boats carried 5000 talents. Clio, 194.

The same kind of embarkation is now in use in the lower parts of the same river, under the name of *kufah* (that is a *round* vessel): but they are most commonly daubed over with bitumen, skins being very seldom used, being perhaps much scarcer than formerly<sup>9</sup>. These *kufahs* are exactly in the form of a *sieve*, and require only a few inches depth of water to float in. The reader will immediately recollect the Welch *corricles*, and the boats of reeds and willows made in other parts of the world. The *ark*, that is, the cradle or boat, or both, of MOSES, was formed of the *bulrush*, or reed of the Nile, and daubed over with *pitch*: that is, we may suppose, *bitumen*. Exodus ii. ver. 3.

<sup>9</sup> My friend, Mr. John Sullivan, in his progress to India by land (through Natolia and Mesopotamia), saw some of the *kufahs* covered with *skins*, in the manner which Herodotus relates.

Although Babylon was situated at the *Euphrates*, yet the canals of communication between that river and the *Tigris*, rendered matters much the same as if the boats had come all the way with the stream. They could not have descended from *Armenia* by the *Euphrates*, because of the interruption of the navigation at the passage of mount *Taurus*.

We have reserved our remarks on the description of the city of Babylon for a separate section, as they are too long for this place <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus intended to give the particulars of the capture of NINEVEH by the Medes : perhaps a description and history of it likewise ; but it no where appears. See Clio, 106.

He mentions Nineveh, however, in several places, particularly in Clio, 102, 103, 178 ; and Euterpe, 150 : but without any description. He speaks of its *first* siege by *Cyaxares* ; and of the raising of that siege by the Scythians of the Mæotis on their irruption into Asia, as before related, page 146. Moreover, he calls it an *Assyrian* city, the royal residence of Sardanapalus ; and speaks of its capture and destruction by the Medes, after the retreat of the Scythians.

Both Diodorus and Strabo attribute its foundation to NINUS, king of Assyria. The former, lib. ii. c. 1, describes its form and dimensions to be an oblong figure, 150 stadia by 90, the longest side being parallel to and at the bank of the *Euphrates* (*Tigris* is meant). He also speaks of its destruction by the Medes.

Strabo (p. 737) says, that it was larger than Babylon, which the above dimensions shew : and that it was totally in ruins.

From these notices, the first city of Nineveh should have been destroyed in the seventh century before Christ\*. Its situation is well known to be at the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite the city of *Mosul*. Strabo places it in the country of *Aturia* ; and Dion Cassius says, lib. lxxviii., that *Attyria* is the same with *Assyria*, the Barbarians having changed the *s* into *t*. Certain it is that both of the names *Assur* and *Nineveh* are now found in that country ; and the latter is pointedly applied to the site opposite *Mosul* ; where, according to travellers of the highest authority (Niebuhr amongst the rest), traces of the remains of a

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\* This was previous to the captivity of the tribe of Judah. Tobias lived to hear of its destruction : (Tobit, at the end.)



One institution at Babylon we cannot forbear mentioning, for the good sense of it. "Such as are diseased they carry into some public square: they have no professors of medicine, but the passengers in general interrogate the sick person concerning his malady; that if any person has either been afflicted with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation on another, he may communicate the process, &c. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without inquiry into the nature of his complaint." *Clio*, 197.

In the army of Xerxes (Polym. 63) the Assyrian forces "had brazen helmets of a strange form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Egyptians: they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and *linen cuirasses*<sup>2</sup>. With these, whom the Greeks call *Syrians*, the Barbarians *Assyrians*, were mixed the *Chaldeans*: all

city are found; such as mounds of earth, and heaps which indicate the rubbish of buildings, as at Babylon.

It appears remarkable that XENOPHON, whose fifth encampment from the *Zabatus*, must have been near to or on its site; and ALEXANDER, who passed so near it in his way to the field of *Gaugamela* (*Arbela*); should neither of them have taken any notice of its ruins: the former especially, who notes the remains of two cities (*Larissa* and *Mespyla*) in his way towards the site of Nineveh from the *Zabatus*.

According to Tacitus, there was a city named Nineveh in this quarter, perhaps on the same site, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *vests* quilted with *cotton*, or some such substance, to resist the ordinary cut of a sabre—war jackets.—These are worn at present by the soldiery in the service of the petty princes of India.

were commanded by one general. It may be remarked, that the Assyrians were far behind the Persians and Susians both in dress and weapons.

VIII. "The eighth Satrapy (here we return again to our Author's progressive number,) furnished 300 talents, and consisted of *Susa*, and the rest of the *Cissians*." Thalia, 91.

This division answers to the modern *Khuzistan*; and was situated between *Babylonia*, *Media*, *Persia*, and the gulf of that name. Next to the Lydian Satrapy it is the smallest of the whole; but as it contained the then capital of the empire, *Susa*<sup>3</sup>, and possessed a rich alluvial soil, and valuable products, (and perhaps, as at the present day, rich manufactures also,) it was enabled to pay so considerable a proportion of tribute<sup>4</sup>. Aristagoras makes use of this remarkable saying, when he spoke to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, concerning *Susa*, called also the royal city and residence of Memnon<sup>5</sup>, "*Susa*, where the Persian monarch occasionally resides, and where his treasures are deposited—make yourselves masters

<sup>3</sup> It is well known that the Persian monarchs had more than one capital. Ecbatana, from the coolness of its situation, (see the note, page 235.) was the summer capital; *Susa* and *Babylon* seem to have been their winter residences. *Persepolis* was also a distinguished place of residence. In the time of Herodotus, *Susa* was the capital.

<sup>4</sup> See the description of this country, and of its cities, in Otter, Vol. ii. p. 49, *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> The foundation of *Susa* is by some referred to *Memnon*, by others to *Tithonus*. Herodotus always calls it the city of Memnon.

of this city, and you may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself." Terp. 49.

There were of the *Cissians*, or *Susians*, both cavalry and infantry, in the army of Xerxes; Polym. 62 and 86. Their armour, arms, and accoutrements, appear to have been like those of the Persians, only that they wore *mitres* instead of *tiaræ*; and from circumstances in general, they appear to have been a rich, and a civilized people.

It was in this country of Cissia, or Susiana, that the ERETRIANS of the Island of *Eubœa*, (who were taken during the first invasion of Greece, by the Persians, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes,) were placed, after having been first passed into the small Island of *Ægilea*, Erato, 101, 107. After the memorable battle of Marathon, such of the Eretrians as had not contrived to escape, about 400 in number, including 10 women, were carried to Susa, by Datis and Artaphernes, as (it would appear) the principal trophy obtained in the expedition. Darius, much to his honour (as Herodotus admits that the Eretrians were the first aggressors), took compassion on them, and appointed them a residence at *Ardericca*, in the district of Cissia; one of the royal stations, situated at the distance of 210 stadia from Susa. It cannot be recognized in the geography; but if, by the circumstance of its being a royal station, is meant that it was one of those between Sardis and Susa<sup>6</sup>, it should lie to the *westward* of the latter.

<sup>6</sup> See an account of these stations in Terp. 52, and also in section XIII.

Herodotus says that they remained there *to his time*, and preserved their ancient language. Erato, 119.

These Eretrians are again heard of, in the life of Apollonius of Tyana, by Philostratus. On a visit to the king of Parthia, Arsaces Bardanus, at Ctesiphon, he is said to have petitioned the king in favour of the Eretrians carried away by Darius Hystaspes, and that the king promised redress. This visit being made 50 years after our era, would necessarily have been 540 after their captivity.

The *Bœotians* (*Thebans*) carried away by Xerxes, Polym. 233, were placed in the country of Assyria, at *Celonæ* (now *Ghilanee*), near the ascent of the pass of mount *Zagros*. This is collected from Diodorus, lib. xvii. c. 11. Alexander saw them at *Celonæ* in his way from Susa and Sittacene, to Ecbatana, after his return from India. Diodorus says, that they had not altogether forgot their language, laws, or customs, although they had learnt the language of the natives; doubtless, by intermarrying with them. This was no more than 150 years, or thereabouts, after their removal from Greece. Polybius speaks of the district of *Chalonnitis* at the ascent of *Zagros*, in lib. v. c. 5; and both the pass and *Ghilanee* are well known, from the travels of Thevenot, Otter, and Abdulkurreem. The pass in question leads from the country of *Irak* into *Al Jebal*, or Kurdistan.

Certain persons amongst the Jews, who were carried into captivity by the Babylonians, were afterwards removed from Babylon to the province of Susiana. Daniel was one of them. One of his

visions was in the palace of *Sushan*, or *Susa*, ch. viii. It is worthy of remark, that the practice of the Persian, Median, and Babylonian kings, of referring their dreams to the soothsayers, as we find it repeatedly in the book of Daniel, is also spoken of by Herodotus as a system<sup>7</sup>. In Polym. 19, the MAGI (who appear to be the *magicians* of Daniel, ch. iv. ver. 7.), deliver their opinions concerning the meaning of Xerxes' dream, respecting the invasion of Greece; and the interpretation was made known to the national assembly of the Persians. In like manner, the extraordinary dream of *Mandane*, the mother of CYRUS, and her father's dream respecting her, were referred to the MAGI, who are said to be "the usual interpreters," Clio, 107, 108. Again in c. 110, their opinions are resorted to, on occasion of the disposal of Cyrus. And in a variety of other cases.

The practice of removing tribes of people from one country to another, to accomplish political purposes, has prevailed in all ages. Perhaps there can hardly be devised a more cruel act of tyranny, when attended with compulsion; since every human creature has an attachment to its native soil and atmo-

<sup>7</sup> We have a pleasure in remarking, that there are a number of coincidences, between the historical facts in the Old Testament, and in our Author; if we make such allowances, as, from the experience of our own times, are requisite, on the score of misapprehension, and misinformation. Such, amongst other facts, are the story of SENACHERIB king of Assyria, and the mice (Euterpe, 141.), which is a different reading of that in 2 Kings xix. and 2 Chron. xxxiii.; the battle of *Magdolum* (Eut. 159.), instead of *Megiddo*, 2 Chron. xxv. in which the king of Judah was conquered by the king of Egypt.

sphere ; however bad they may be, in the estimation of those, who, from observation, are enabled to judge of their qualities. In modern times, Tamerlane and Nadir Shah practised it with great rigour ; and, considering how numerous the instances are, in all ages, one ought not to be surprised at finding dialects of languages in situations very remote from their original seats.

X. “ The 10th Satrapy <sup>8</sup> furnished 450 talents ; and consisted of *Ecbatana*, the rest of *Media*, the *Parycanii*, and the *Orthocorybantes*.” Thalia, 92.

It is well known that there were *two* countries of the name of MEDIA, at the time of the Macedonian conquest, and that they were called the *greater* and *lesser*. The greater answers to the modern division of *Al Jebal*, or *Irak Ajami* ; the lesser to *Aderbigian*, which was called by the Greeks *Atropatia*, perhaps meaning to imitate the former <sup>9</sup>. We conclude that Herodotus intended by *Media*, the *greater* Media only ; because he classes *Matiene*, which lay between the *two*, as distinct from Media ; and because also, that Aderbigian appears to form a part of the *Saspies* and *Caspians*, which are also classed distinct from Media.

Ecbatana, which will naturally be understood to mean the country that lay around that capital, will then form the northern part of the Satrapy in question. The *Orthocorybantes* may be taken for the people of *Corbiana*, now *Currimabad*, the southern

<sup>8</sup> The *ninth* only, in this series.

<sup>9</sup> See above, page 233, note.

part of Media, towards *Susiana*; and by the *Parycanii*, we conclude are meant the *Paretacæni*, the people of the eastern province of Media, which extended from *Persis* to the *Caspian* straits<sup>1</sup>.

*Media magna*, or *Media proper*, occupies the midland and elevated tract, between the approximating parts of the Caspian sea, and the Persian gulf; having the low lands of *Susiana* on the south, and the hollow semicircular tract, which embraces the south part of the Caspian sea, (and which contains the provinces that may with propriety be termed *Caspian*,) on the opposite side. It formed also the central part of the GREAT PERSIAN EMPIRE, of that day; and was, from climate, verdure, and richness of soil, the most beautiful of its provinces. In the descriptions of modern travellers and geographers, Media is more commonly reckoned the *western* part of Persia; it being in reality its most western province; mount *Zagros* forming the common boundary between Persia and Turkey. Ispahan, the present capital, is situated in the south-east corner of the division of ancient Media.

Thus, occupying the space between the two seas, on the north and south, and forming a kind of pass between the cultivated parts of Eastern and Western Asia, Media, no less from its geographical position, than from its fertility and temperature, was one of the most important and interesting tracts in Asia.

MEDIA may be deemed the *cradle* of what was

<sup>1</sup> The *Paretacæni* were one of the tribes of Media; in Clio, 101. Pliny says, that the *Pratitæ*, or *Paredoni*, kept possession of the Caspian strait. Lib. vi. c. 15.

afterwards denominated the *Persian power*; for it produced not only a hardy race of men, but also a numerous breed of the finest horses, from whence was formed the best cavalry of Asia; which were in fact, *Median*, although the superior fortune of Persia communicated its name to *those*, in common with the empire at large. It is also well known, that the Medes held the sovereignty of Asia, *previous* to the Persians. The horses in question were those bred in the *Niswan* pastures; and which were so much famed for size, and for beauty and swiftness, in almost every ancient historian and geographer. These pastures are recognized in the beautiful country above mount *Zagros*, between *Ghilanee* and *Kermanshah*<sup>2</sup>.

The Medes had both cavalry and infantry in the army of Xerxes; and they were armed and clothed like the Persians. Herodotus indeed says, that the military dress of the Persians was, properly speak-

<sup>2</sup> See the Travels of M. Otter, Vol. i. p. 178, *et seq.*; Vol. ii. p. 11. *et seq.*

*Nisæus* was a district in Media, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size. Xerxes' chariot was drawn by them—and the sacred horses in the procession were *Nisæan*; Polym. 40. Alexander gave a *Nisæan* horse to *Calanus*, to carry him to the funeral pile. The king of Parthia sacrificed one to the *sun*, when Apollonius of Tyana visited his court. *Masistius* rode a *Nisæan* horse at the decisive battle of *PLATÆA*. The *Nisæan* pastures are spoken of in Diodorus, lib. xvii. c. 11.; and in Arrian, lib. vii.

*Ghilanee* has been already mentioned, as the *Celonæ* of Diodorus, where the Bœotians were placed by Xerxes. See above, page 355.



ing, *Median*, and not *Persian*; Polym. 61, 62<sup>3</sup>. With the Greeks of his time, *MEDIAN* was applied generally to the united empire of Medes and Persians, as having from habit been applied to the power which held the sovereignty of Asia. This appears throughout his work. He says moreover, that in ancient times the Medes were universally named *ARII* (Polym. 62.); which agrees with Strabo; for by him, it appears, as if the whole tract between Assyria and India, had originally been called *ARIA*, by the Greeks.

Media boasted of the splendid city of *Ecbatana*, the summer capital of the Persian monarchs, now *Hamadan*<sup>4</sup>. Also that of *Rages*, perhaps of equal antiquity; afterwards revived under the modern

<sup>3</sup> This ascendancy of the Median fashions, in so important an article as the military habit, serves to shew, that, although the fortune of Persia, under Cyrus, had risen superior to that of the Medes, yet that the latter were far more advanced in the arts.

<sup>4</sup> The city of *Ecbatana* was unquestionably on or near the site of *Hamadan*, in *Al Jebal*. A great number of authorities concur in proving this, although many refer it to *Tauris*, or *Tebriz*, in *Aderbigian*; Mr. Gibbon, and Sir W. Jones, amongst the rest. The authorities are too numerous to be adduced here; we shall only mention that Isidore of Charax places it on the road from *Seleucia* to *Parthia*; that Pliny says, that Susa is equidistant from *Seleucia* and *Ecbatana*; and that the capital of *Atropatia* (*Aderbigian*) is midway between *Artaxata* and *Ecbatana*. And finally, that it lay in the road from *Nineveh* to *Rages*, or *Rey*. (Tobit, ch. v. and vi.)

For the account of the foundation, as well as the description, of *Ecbatana*, the reader is referred to Herodotus, Clio, 98; Polybius, lib. x. Ex. 4.; Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 1.; and to the book of *Judith*, ch. i. ver. 2.

name of *Rey*, by the Mahomedans; and which was one of the largest and finest cities of the East, but is now a mass of ruins<sup>5</sup>. This province is moreover famous for being the place of captivity of the ten tribes, or rather that *part* of them which was carried away by the Assyrians of Nineveh<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The ruins of *two* cities of the name of *Rey* are noticed by travellers, in the plain, at about 50 miles to the west of the Caspian strait; which was the position of *Rages*. For *Rages*, see Tobit, throughout; Strabo, 524, 525; and Polybius, lib. x. Ex. 4.

<sup>6</sup> See section XV.

## SECTION XII.

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### THE SATRAPIES CONTINUED.

Caspian and Hyrcanian provinces; and Dahestan—Bows made of Bamboo—Eastern Armenia and Matiene—Colchians not subjected to tribute, but present gratuities—attend Xerxes as auxiliaries—Caucasus, the limit of the Persian power—contains an infinite number of languages—Western Armenia peopled by Phrygians—Mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and iron, in Mount Taurus—Vallies of Sophene and Diarbekir—Tribes along the south-east coast of the Euxine—Chalybes and Mosynœcians—Mardi, or Anthropophagi—Persia Proper; its tribes emancipated from tribute by CYRUS—Pasagardæ and Persepolis—Artæi, a name of the Persians—Germanians, or Carmanians—Sagartii taken for a tribe from Zagatai—Sarangæans the Euergetæ of Cyrus and the Greeks—Utians, or Uzians—The Persians—the flower of the army of Xerxes—Islands of the Persian gulf; their various uses—Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians—Bactrians—Sacæ, distinguished warriors; conquered by Cyrus—Ethiopians of Asia—Indians—vast tribute levied on them; and in gold—Herodotus knew few particulars of India, and misrepresented the natives of it—Vindication of their characters; as well from ancient Authors as from the conduct of Alexander—The Ganges not known to Herodotus—his Padæi, the same with the Gangaridæ of others—Calanus, the friend and companion of Alexander—Death of Calanus, on a funeral pile—Indian widow burns herself with the body of her husband, in the camp of Eumenes—Aggregate sum of the tribute—Proportions of gold to silver—The southern nations recruited from Caucasus, from remote

*times—Population of Egypt—General observations—Cause of the assemblage of so many nations by Xerxes—entire conquest of Europe intended—Rendezvous of the fleet and army of Xerxes—Our Author's history favourable to liberty.*

XI. “THE *Caspians*, the *Pausicæ*, the *Pantimathi*, and the *Daritæ*, contributed amongst them 200 talents, and formed the 11th Satrapy.” *Thalia*, 92<sup>1</sup>.

Of these, we find only the *Caspians* in the army of *Xerxes*; in which they formed one entire and distinct command: and there were of them both cavalry and infantry; *Polym.* 67 and 86. The infantry wore vests of skins, had bows made of *reeds* (*bamboos* it may be conceived), and scymetars. In effect, they resembled the *Bactrians* and *Arians*, their neighbours; 86: and there was a general resemblance in the *armour* of the *Bactrians*, *Caspians*, *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, *Sogdians*, *Gardarians*, and *Dadicæ*: see *Polym.* 64, 65, 66, 86; so that all the nations situated to the east and north of *Media* had so many points of resemblance to each other, as to shew that they had a common origin; that is, doubtless from *SCYTHIA*: and this is shewn also from many passages in *Strabo* and *Pliny*.

It may be observed, that although the *Hyrceanians* appear in the list of the army with dresses like the *Persians*, *Polym.* 62; they are not classed in any Satrapy; and on the contrary, the *Daritæ*, and other nations that are classed in the same Satrapy with the *Caspians*, do not appear in the army. It is pos-

<sup>1</sup> The tenth only in this arrangement.

sible, however, that the *Daritæ* may be meant for the *Dahæ*, of whom we have spoken so fully under the head of Scythia, and who effected a settlement in *Dahestan* at the south-east part of the Caspian sea, between Hyrcania and the ancient course of the river Oxus. See p. 293, *et seq.*

There are found in Strabo and Ptolemy some notices respecting the *Pasicæ* and *Aspasiacæ*, who appear to be the *Pausicæ* of our Author. (See Strabo, p. 513; Ptolemy, Asia, Tab. vii.) They are placed near to, or bordering on the Chorasmians; whence, of course, the Caspian Satrapy should border north-eastward on Chorasmia. On the other hand, the nation of the *Caspians* inhabited the shore of the sea of that name, (and which they appear to have communicated to it, in that quarter at least), from the mouth of the river *Cyrus*, southward; Pliny, vi. 13. Strabo, p. 514, places them nearly in the same situation; and Ptolemy between the mouths of the *Cyrus* and *Araxes*; which rivers, in ancient times, gained the sea by separate channels. We may therefore conceive the *Caspians* to have possessed the eastern part of *Aderbigian*, with the province of Ghilan, &c. The name, however, was obsolete before the time of Strabo.

Thus, then, the 11th Satrapy seems to have extended at least from the mouth of the *Cyrus* to that of the *Oxus*, occupying the semicircular tract, which embraces the south part of the Caspian sea, and which is shut up on the inland side by a great ridge of mountains, forming a most romantic and beautiful

amphitheatre, described by modern travellers, and also slightly mentioned by Quintus Curtius<sup>2</sup>. So that this Satrapy constitutes one vast natural division of country, and that of the most fertile and productive kind, being the modern provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan* (or *Taberistan*), *Korkan*, *Dahestan*, &c. known in ancient geography by the names of *Gela*, *Maxere*, *Tapuri*, *Hyrcania*, and the country of the *Dahæ*.

In effect, then, *Hyrcania* should have been included in this division, although omitted in the statement of Herodotus, since it falls geographically between the Caspians and the Pausicæ; which latter bordered, as we have seen, on Chorasmia, and marked the north-eastern extremity of the Satrapy. The *Pantimathi* may likewise be included, and may represent one or more of the provinces above enumerated.

XVIII. "The 18th Satrapy was taxed at 200 talents, and was composed of the *Matieni*, the *Saspises*, and *Alarodians*." Thalia, 94<sup>3</sup>.

The position of *Matiene* is well known. It was, properly speaking, the north-west part of *Media major*, lying above the ascent of Mount *Zagros*, and between *Ecbatana* and the lake of *Maraga*. In *Terpsichore*, 49; *Aristagoras* describes it as lying between *Armenia* and *Cissia*: and in 52, the *Gyndes* is described to flow from it, in its course to the *Tigris*. According to our idea, although it borders on

<sup>2</sup> See *Della Valle*, Vol. iii.; *Olearius's Travels*, lib. vii.; *Hanway's*, vol. i.; and *Quintus Curtius*, lib. vi. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The eleventh only in this arrangement.

the SE of Armenia, yet it does not extend near so far to the south as the province of *Cissia*, or *Susiana* <sup>4</sup>.

For the *Saspines*, or *Saspirians*, we have the following authorities: but it is proper to observe, that although this nation has different names in different places, as *Saspines*, *Saspirians*, *Sapinians*, and *Saspirians*, yet they are all doubtless meant for the same people, as they are every one of them connected geographically with the *Alarodians*.

“Beyond the Persians, to the north, are the Medes; and next to them are the *Saspirians*. Contiguous to these, and where the *Phasis* empties itself into the *northern* sea, are the *Colchians*,” &c. *Melpom.* 37.

Again, “the *Saspirians* separate *Media* from *Colchis* ;” *Clio*, 104: and in 110, speaking of the mountains that lay to the north of *Ecbatana*, (near the *Euxine*, it is said, but *this* must be a mistake), “this part of *Media* TOWARDS the SASPIRES, is high and mountainous, and abounds with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain.” And again, *Melp.* 40, “To the *east*, beyond *Persia*, *Media*, the *SAPINIANS*, and *Colchians*,” &c.

As the mountainous tract just alluded to is clearly the province of *Matiene*, so the *Saspines* (or whatsoever may be their proper name) must occupy the space in the line between *Matiene* and *Colchis*; and

<sup>4</sup> More will be said respecting *Matiene* in the remarks on the road from *Sardis* to *Susa*, in Section XIII.; which see. The *Matiene* of *Cappadocia* has already been discriminated in the account of the third Satrapy, pages 269 and 316.

regard being had to the position of the *Caspians'* country, to that of the *Caucasian* provinces, of the *Moschi*, and of *Armenia*, all of which lay beyond it, the *Saspire*s must have extended through the space between the western bank of the river *Cyrus* and the mountains of *Armenia*; the *Araxes* and its branches passing through it to the point, where it descends into the plain of *Mogan*, a part of the country of the *Caspians*.

The *Saspire*s then, should have occupied in modern geography, the eastern part of *Armenia*.

The *Alarodians*, or third division of this Satrapy, we cannot find any authority for placing; but may suppose their country to be parts of *Iberia* and *Albania*, bordering on the *Colchians* and *Saspire*s: for the *Alarodes* and *Saspire*s were joined in one command, and both were dressed like the *Colchians*; implying neighbourhood and connection. Polym. 79.

The *Colchians* themselves, as well as their neighbours, the *Caucasian* nations, were not classed as belonging to any Satrapy, but imposed a tribute on themselves, in like manner as the *Arabians* and some other nations; Thalia, 97: and to this mountain of *Caucasus* only, according to our Author, "the Persian authority extends. Northward of it, their name inspires no regard." The *Colchians*, however, attended the army of *Xerxes* as *auxiliaries*, together with the *Mares*. These we can only take for one of the tribes of *Caucasus*; auxiliaries also: for of these tribes there were, as in the present times, a great number <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The incredible number of tribes and languages in and about



Concerning the *Matiénian* troops we have already spoken, as well as of the confusion arising between the different countries of that name. The troops spoken of in Polym. 72, evidently belonged to the *Matiene* of Cappadocia.

XIII. "From the 13th Satrapy <sup>6</sup> 400 talents were levied. This comprehended *Pactyica*, the *Armenians*, with the *contiguous* nations, *as far as the Euxine.*" Thalia, 93.

In the description of Xerxes' army, the *Armenians* are said to be a colony of *Phrygians*; they were armed like *them*, and were subject to the same commander; Polym. 73. We hear of *Pactyans* also, Polym. 67; but they were armed like the *Utii*, *Myci*, and *Paricanii*, who were situated towards the southern sea, and were quite unlike the people of the quarter towards the Euxine and Caucasus. Moreover, the *Sagartii*, who were said to be of Persian descent, and appear to have been seated on the borders of Persia *proper*, were habited somewhat *between* the *Persians* and *Pactyans*; Polym. 85. We should therefore take *these* *Pactyans* to be the *Bactearis*, seated in the mountains on the west of

Mount *Caucasus* is spoken of as well by the ancients as the moderns. See Mr. Tooke's *Russia*, vol. ii.; and the *Memoir of the Map of the Countries between the Euxine and the Caspian*, published in 1788. This remarkable tract, which forms an *isthmus* between the *nations* of the *north* and of the *south*, seems to have retained a specimen of each passing tribe, from the date of the earliest migration.

The *Mares*, or *Marians*, might be intended for the *Mardi* of the 19th Satrapy, adjoining to the one in question.

<sup>6</sup> The 12th only in this arrangement.

Ispahan; and the Pactyans of Armenia must be a different people; and are quite unknown to us.

When our Author extends this Satrapy to the Euxine, he appears to contradict himself. For the nations along the Euxine, from the *Syrians* of *Capadocia* to the *Colchians*, and which are shut up on the land side by the Armenian mountains, are all allotted to the XIXth Satrapy; as will presently appear. And the Colchians themselves, who are not included in any Satrapy, occupy the remainder of the coast bordering on Armenia; so that no part of this Satrapy can possibly touch on the Euxine.

The Armenia of Herodotus (in *Terpsichore*, 52,) extended westward to the Euphrates in the quarter towards Cilicia, and southward to Mount *Masius* in Mesopotamia; as may be inferred from the same chapter. Northwards it included the sources of the Euphrates; *Clio*, 180; and from the position given to the *Saspises*, it should be confined on the east by the mountains which separate the course of the Araxes from the eastern sources of the Euphrates; amongst which is Mount Ararat. Thus the Armenia of our Author has very circumscribed limits compared with the geography of more modern times; which adds to it the valley traversed by the Araxes, which Herodotus assigns to the *Saspises*.

From the moderate amount of the sum collected in this Satrapy, there is little reason to suppose that any considerable proportion of it arose from the produce of the mines, that are wrought with so much profit at the present day. The mines alluded to are those situated in the two branches of Mount *Taurus*,

that inclose the valley of *Sophene*, through which the Euphrates passes in its way from Armenia to Syria<sup>7</sup>. These are two in number, *Kebban* and *Argana*; and a third, *Arabkir*, is situated on the western, or Cappadocian, side of the Euphrates.

KEBBAN, or *Mâden* Kebban (*Mâden* signifies mine), is situated in the very heart of the northern ridge of Taurus (apparently that intended by *Anti-Taurus*), and impends over the Euphrates, which has here forced itself a passage through the ridge, leaving a vast chasm<sup>8</sup>. The bed of the river is here about 200 yards in breadth, and very deep. The ARGANA mine is at the front of the southern branch of the same mountains, overlooking the great valley of Diarbekir, through which runs the Tigris<sup>9</sup>. These

<sup>7</sup> Now called the valley of *Karpoot*, from a fortress and town within it. It lies opposite to the valley of *Malatia* (anciently *Melitena*), of which it is, in fact, a continuation; the Euphrates alone separating the two vallies.

<sup>8</sup> The two great branches of the Euphrates from *Erzeroum* and *Bayazid* form a junction at no great distance *above* Kebban. It is *below* this place, and in its passage *through Taurus*, that the Euphrates forms the rapids which interrupt the navigation to and from Syria.

<sup>9</sup> This is a more extensive valley than that of *Sophene*, from whence it is divided by the principal ridge of Taurus. Northwards it is bounded by Mount *Niphates*, the continuation of the last ridge; southwards by *Masius*, its southern branch. These unite, and shut up the valley on the east. Within it the numerous heads of the Tigris are collected into one stream, which, forcing its way through Mount *Masius*, forms the *steep cliffs*, which compelled the TEN THOUSAND to quit the bank of the river in their ascent from the plains of Babylon.

The valley of Diarbekir is about 140 British miles in length, and very wide, forming a great oval, and may not improperly be

two mines are about 70 road miles asunder ; and are respectively 50 and 120 from the city of Diarbekir, to the NW. ARABKIR is about 20 to the N of Kebban, or 140 from Diarbekir.

The two former of these were visited by Mr. J. Sullivan in his way through Lower Asia, in 1781 ; and by M. Otter, in 1739. Mr. Sullivan reports, that they were rich in *gold* and *silver*, and also produced *lead* and *iron*. M. Sestini, who accompanied him, says, that the mine of Argana yielded *copper* also ; and by the different accounts, taken together, Argana seems to have been the most productive. Mr. Sullivan was told that the mine of Arabkir had a richer vein of *gold* than the others.

M. Otter, although he stopt at Arabkir, does not mention the mine ; which seems to shew that it was little regarded at that time. He says that the works at Argana had very much declined ; and those at Kebban, still more. Gold and silver are the only metals spoken of by him.

Dr. Howel was at Argana and Kebban in 1788. He says of the former, that the only metals found there are silver and iron<sup>1</sup>. He is silent respecting Kebban.

It may be observed, that Sestini mentions copper

named the *hollow Mesopotamia*. It is to be noted, that although some of the ancients reckoned it to Armenia, it is in reality inclosed between the Euphrates and Tigris.

<sup>1</sup> *Chalybes*, or workers in iron, are spoken of amongst the people conquered by Cræsus in Cappadocia. Xenophon, Anab. lib. v. found them at the shore of the Euxine, in Pontus : and here they are found midway between the two seas.

at Argana; and no copper is spoken of elsewhere. Since that time, however, the Armenian mines have produced vast abundance of excellent copper, which has been dispersed in all directions, and threatens a revolution in the trade of this valuable article. From Diarbekir the water carriage is continuous to the gulf of Persia, either by means of boats or rafts: but there is no water carriage in any other direction. The Mediterranean is about ten journies distant, by caravans; the Euxine rather less.

XIX. "The *Moschi*, *Tibareni*, *Macrones*, *Mosynæci*, and *Mardians*, provided 300 talents, and were the 19th Satrapy." Thalia, 94<sup>2</sup>.

Xenophon, in his way westward, passed successively through the territories of the *Macrones*<sup>3</sup>, the *Mosynæcians*, *Chalybians*, and *Tibarenians*, between the rivers *Phasis* and *Thermodon*: and the *Moschi* were said to be situated between the heads of the *Phasis* and the river *Cyrus*. Hence, the 19th Satrapy of our Author must have extended along the SE coast of the Euxine sea, and was confined on the inland, or southern side, by the lofty chain of Armenian mountains. On the east it was bounded by the heads of the *Phasis* and *Cyrus*, and on the west by the *Thermodon*. The *Tibareni* appear to have bordered on the east of the *Thermodon*, and the *Mosynæci*, *Macrones*, and *Moschi*, to follow in succession, eastward<sup>4</sup>. Hence, it may clearly be perceived,

<sup>2</sup> The 13th in the order here placed.

<sup>3</sup> The *Macrones* were afterwards called *Sanni*. Strabo, p. 548.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, *Euterpe*, 84, says that the *Macrones* are neigh-

that no part of the Armenian Satrapy could extend to the Euxine. (See above, p. 369.)

This Satrapy is one of the smallest; for the Armenian mountains, which rise very suddenly from the north, and form the elevated level from whence the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Cyrus spring, are at no great distance from the sea; as may be seen more particularly by the instructive and entertaining Travels of M. Tournefort. The Satrapy is therefore a narrow stripe, or border of land, forming an intermediate level, between the high country of Armenia and the Euxine sea, but containing some very hardy and warlike tribes; as the Ten Thousand experienced in their troublesome land march from the borders of *Colchis* to *Cotyora*. It is every where intersected by small rivers, the neighbourhood of the mountains to the sea preventing the waters from collecting into larger streams.

The *Mardi*, of this Satrapy cannot be recognized unless they may be the *Mares*, or *Marians*, who were joined in the same command with the *Colchians*; in Polym. 79. It may be remarked that there are several tribes of this name: one in particular in the country adjacent to the SW of the Caspian sea; another in the south of Media; and a third near Bactria, (Pliny, vi. 16.) apparently in *Gaur*. They were all mountaineers, hardy and warlike: and those at the Caspian occasioned much trouble to Alexander. Perhaps *Mardi* might de-

*bours* to the *Syrians* of *Cappadocia*. But this should rather be said of the *Tibareni*, whom Xenophon found near the river Thermodon.

sign such kind of mountaineers in general ; and the Mardi who are joined with the Colchians might have been the mountaineers adjacent to them <sup>5</sup>.

The *Moschi* and *Tibareni* (in Polym. 78.) formed one command, the *Macrones* and *Mosynæci* another : however, it may be seen, that the *two former* were situated at the opposite extremes of the province ; and it is therefore more probable that the *Mosynæci* and *Moschi* should change places in the text. All these tribes, save the *Mardi* (if the *Mares* may be taken for them), were equipped alike : that is, they had helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears with long *iron* points. They lived in a country abounding with *iron* ; for Xenophon found amongst the Mosynæcians, and subject to them, a tribe named *Chalybians*. “ These (he says) are few in number, and the greatest part of them subsist by the manufacture of iron ;” Anab. lib. v. Iron ore seems to be spread throughout the whole tract along the Euphrates, in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Western Armenia.

The city and colony of Trebizonde was situated within this Satrapy : and hence the geography of it was well known to the Greeks. So that when Xenophon gives the names of *Mosynæcians*, *Macrones*,

<sup>5</sup> The reader is referred to M. D'Anville's *Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde*, page 96, *et seq.* for some curious observations respecting the term *Mardi-coura*, taken to be equivalent to *cannibal*, or *man-eater* ; in India. M. D'Anville quotes Photius, who says as much : and also M. Thevenot, who says that certain people near Baroach, in Guzerat, were formerly named *Mardi-coura*, or man-eaters. See his *Indian Travels*, chapter iv.

*Chalybes*, &c. in his retreat, it appears that their names, at least, were not new to him on his arrival amongst them; although such an idea might arise, unless regard is had to these passages in Herodotus.

XIV. "The 14th Satrapy<sup>6</sup> consisted of the *Sagartians*<sup>7</sup>, the *Sarangæans*, the *Thamanæans*, *Utians*, and *Menciens*<sup>8</sup>, with those who inhabit the islands of the *Red* sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes: these jointly contributed 600 talents." Thalia, 93.

Although the *Sarangæans*, by which must be understood the people of *Zarang*, or Sigistan, and the people of the islands of the *Red* sea (that is, of the *Persian gulf*<sup>9</sup>), were included in this Satrapy, yet it is not to be supposed that the *whole intermediate country*, or even any great proportion of it, was included. For the country of PERSIA PROPER is out of the question, since it enjoyed the privilege of *exemption* from the arrangement, which is the subject of this inquiry. "They were not compelled to pay any

<sup>6</sup> Here we return again to the progressive numeration of our Author; and also commence the examination of the *eastern* division of the empire; supposing it to be divided by a line drawn from the Caspian sea to the head of the Persian gulf; when *Media* would form the central province. This division, although much the largest, contains seven Satrapies only.

<sup>7</sup> Littlebury translates *Sagartians*; i. 307. If he is right, these should be the *Sagarti*, hereafter mentioned.

<sup>8</sup> Littlebury has this variation: *Meci* for *Menci*; and which seem to be the *Myci* hereafter mentioned with the *Utii*.

<sup>9</sup> No other islands could be meant; because none but *these* could contain a population sufficient to form a body of troops equal to a commandery.



specific taxes, but presented a regular gratuity;" Thalia, 97. It may be conceived that this privilege was extended to all the tribes of Persia proper, which are enumerated by the historian, on occasion of their emancipation by CYRUS, Clio, 125; namely, the *Arteatæ*, *Persæ*, *Pasargadæ*, *Maraphii*, and *Maspians*, who are the principal ones; and the *Panthialæ*<sup>1</sup>, *Derusicæ*, and *Germanians*, who follow laborious employments; the *Dai*, *Mardi*, *Dropici*, and *Sagartians*, who were feeders of cattle. Of all these, the *Pasargadæ* were the most considerable.

Here the *name* of PASARGADÆ is represented to exist before the time of Cyrus, and also to belong to a populous tribe. History, moreover, represents that Cyrus founded a city of the name of *Pasargada*, or *Pasagarda* (for it is written both ways), on occasion of a great victory which he obtained on that spot; and which appears to have established him in his new empire. It must of course be inferred, that this city was founded in the *province* of *Pasargada*; and as the Persian term *gherd* signifies a district or province (as *Darab-gherd*, which signifies the king's province), it may be supposed that the *garda* or *gada* is the same with *gherd*; and then *Pasa*, or *Pasar*, will represent the name itself; and *Pasa*, or *Fasa*, is actually the name of a town and district of some consideration, in Persia *proper*, at this day<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Littlebury has these variations, *Meraphii*, *Masians*, and *Panthelians*.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo says (p. 730, 731), that "Cyrus respected *Pasargadæ*, because this was the place where he gained his decisive

The *Persæ* appear also, as one of the principal tribes; and the city of *Persepolis*, although omitted by Herodotus, is spoken of by most of the succeeding writers; but not we believe till after the Macedonian conquest. This we should regard as the capital of the *Persæ*. Some have supposed, that *Persepolis* and *Pasagardæ* were names for the same place; but we are strongly of opinion, from the authorities, that they were distinct places (although the discussion would be too long for this place); and conclude that *Chelminar* was the ancient *Persepolis*; and that *Pasagardæ* was situated more to the south-east; perhaps at *Pasa*, or *Fasa*. At the same time, it is but fair to acknowledge, that we do not know of there being any remains of antiquity, either at *Fasa*, or any other place, save those of *Estakar*, which is known to have been a Mahomedan foundation, not far from *Chelminar*; and those of *Nakshi Rustum* (in the same neighbourhood); which, however, are regarded as sepulchres only, excavated from the front of a perpendicular rock, or cliff. But it may possibly be, that the remains of *Pasagardæ* are not known to Europeans; for we should bear in mind, that the ruins of *Gour*, in Bengal, were unknown to the English and other Europeans, until they had been settled there a very long time; and until the year 1764<sup>3</sup>.

victory over *Astyages* the Median, and which gave him the empire of *ASIA*; and that he built a *city*, and a *palace* for himself, in commemoration of the victory; but removed all the treasure in *Persia* to *Susa*."

<sup>3</sup> In a future work on the geography of *Persia*, it is intended

Herodotus observes that the Persians originally called themselves, and were called by their neighbours, *Artæi*; Polym. 61. These might be the same with the *Arteatæ* just mentioned; and their country may be expressed by the *Artacene* of Ptolemy, and the *Ardistan* of modern geography; a province situated to the NE of Ispahan. The *Maraphi* may be the same with the *Marrasium* of Ptolemy, situated to the NE of Persepolis<sup>4</sup>. The *Maspians* (or *Masians*), the remaining principal tribe, we cannot place.

Of the inferior tribes, we agree with others in believing, that the *Germanians* are intended for the people of that part of Carmania, bordering on Persia, and which was by the ancients sometimes confounded

to give the authorities at large, for the positions of these places. *Persepolis* was, no doubt, a name given by the Greeks, to denote the capital of the Persian empire; and, according to the expression of Justin, lib. i. c. 6, it should have existed before the revolt of the Persians from the Medes, in the time of Cyrus. What Strabo says respecting Persepolis and Pasagardæ, in pages 729, 730, proves most clearly that he believed them to be distinct places; and it is equally certain, that the description of the sepulchre of Cyrus, both in Strabo and Arrian, does not suit either those of *Chelminar*, or *Nakshi Rustum*. For it was in a garden, in the midst of a thick grove of trees, and rose like a tower from the ground. It was also of small dimensions; for its basis was composed of a *single stone*. (See Strabo, p. 730; and Arrian, lib. vii. at the end.) Now the sepulchres at *Nakshi Rustum* are (as we have said) *excavated* from the *front* of a steep high rock, or cliff, and could not be surrounded by a grove; and those at *Chelminar* have a very broad base, more like a pyramid than a tower. So that there is no one point of resemblance.

<sup>4</sup> Asia, Tab. v.

with it. The *Dai*, a pastoral people, of Persia, were very probably a tribe of *Dahæ*, as these were much scattered about; and even appear to have served in the army of Eumenes, as soldiers of fortune. The *Mardi* were a tribe of mountaineers, lying between Media and Persia, on whom Alexander warred, at his first coming into Persia<sup>5</sup>, and before his expedition to the Caspian provinces, where he met with another tribe of the same name<sup>6</sup>. The *Sagartians*, a pastoral people, are also mentioned in the army of Xerxes; Polym. 85; and formed a body of 8000 cavalry. Herodotus says, that originally they were of Persian descent, and used the Persian language; and that their dress was between *Persian* and *Pactyan*. They are marked by a very singular mode of attack; that is, by throwing out a *noose* of leather, or hide, by which they endeavoured to entangle the enemy, or their horses. Their weapons were *daggers* only; with which, having entangled their enemy, they easily put him to death. Could we trace out such a modern custom in Asia, it might lead to a discovery of the descendants of the *Sagartii*. The same mode prevails amongst the native tribes in some parts of South America. It savours very much of uncivilized life; and as the *Sagartii* are said to have been a pastoral people, they were probably much on a par with the *Tartar tribes*, dispersed at present over Persia, at large. If the term *Zagatai* was so ancient, and one could suppose a mistake in the report of the origin of the

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, p. 524.<sup>6</sup> See above, page 373.

*Sagartii*, one might suspect that *Zagati* were meant. This tribe is at present dispersed over the north-eastern quarter of Persia; they are of Scythian, or Tartar, origin, and were long settled in *Sogdia*, which at one time took the name of *Zagatai*<sup>7</sup>. As to the other tribes of *Panthialæ*, *Derusia*, and *Dropici*, we can find no traces of them.

If it be admitted that ALL the tribes of *proper* Persia, mentioned on occasion of the revolt of CYRUS, were exempted from tribute; which means also, that they were not classed in any Satrapy: it will be required that we should include, in the same exemption with Persia, a part of Carmania, and the provinces of Lar and Sirjan; in which case, the 14th Satrapy, a tract that supplied 600 talents annually, must be looked for elsewhere.

From the extent, fertility, and general riches of the province of the *Sarangæans*, (the people of *Zarang*, or *Sigistan*<sup>8</sup>;) it might be expected that

<sup>7</sup> Some have supposed that *Zagatai*, the second son of JINGHIS KAN gave his name to the country of *Marur-al-Nahr*; but it appears more probable that he received his name from it. His portion of the empire of JINGHIS extended from *Balk* to *Oigur*.

<sup>8</sup> The present name, *Sigistan*, seems to be derived from *Sacastana*, as it is found in Isidore of Charax; and which last is doubtless derived from the *Sacæ*; who, according to the same authority, possessed the province in question. This, of course, was subsequent to the Macedonian conquest. It should be remembered, that *Sacæ* was, amongst the Persians, a general term for *Scythians*.

Isidore places *Sacastana* to the south of *Bactria* and *Paropamisus*. (See Hudson's *Min. Geog.* vol. ii.)

this alone furnished a considerable proportion of the 600 talents, since so confined a country as *Susiana* paid 300<sup>9</sup>. For Sigistan, as we have said before, page 258, is a rich *alluvial* tract, situated *inland*; it being a vast hollow, surrounded by hills and mountains; so that its rivers have, from time immemorial, deposited in it the earth brought from the surrounding country, and formed a rich soil like that of Egypt and Bengal. And although the rivers terminate finally in a lake, yet much more of their depositions must remain on the land, than if, like the *Nile* and *Ganges*, they disembogued their waters into the sea.

The *Sarangæans* in Xerxes' army, Polym. 67, "had beautiful habits of *different* and *splendid* colours; buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins, like the Medes." Some of these particulars characterize a civilized, rich, and industrious people. In effect, they were the *Euergetæ* of the Greeks, whose bounty to *Cyrus*, proved the fertility and wealth of the country, as well as the generous dispositions of the natives of it.

Diodorus thus relates the transaction; lib. xvii. c. 8. "Cyrus, during a certain expedition which he had undertaken, was brought into great extremity, in a barren country, through the want of provisions. The *Euergetæ* (before named *Arimaspi*<sup>1</sup>) brought to his army 30,000 carriages laden with provisions. Cyrus being thus unexpectedly relieved,

<sup>9</sup> Sigistan is much more than double the area of *Susiana*.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian and Curtius call them *Agriaspæ*; Pliny, *Argetæ*; Ptolemy has *Ariaspæ*.

not only declared them free of tribute for the future, but bestowed on them other privileges, and changed their former name into *Euergetæ* <sup>2</sup>."

It is not known on what particular occasion this circumstance happened; but it appears, from the Persian histories, that during the time of RUSTUM, who is supposed to be the general of Cyrus, the Empire of Persia was attacked by the king of TURKISTAN (that is, by the SCYTHIANS on the NE frontier). This seems to have given occasion to the establishment of the capital of Persia, at Balk (*Bactria*); and of Rustum, in the *fief* of Sigistan, or *Zarang* <sup>3</sup>. It also appears, from Herodotus, that Cyrus undertook in person, an expedition against the *Scythians* and other nations in the east; and more particularly the *Sacæ* and *Bactrians* <sup>4</sup>, in which he was completely successful; at least, in respect of its final termination. But nevertheless he might have encountered many difficulties in the execution of the enterprize.

Zarang lies midway between Persia and the *Sacæ*; and is separated from the former by a very extensive desert, which is noted in the journals of our early travellers, between Kandahar and Ispahan. It might possibly have been in crossing this desert, that Cyrus'

<sup>2</sup> Or rather, we may presume, some name which had the same meaning in the Persian language.

<sup>3</sup> Memorials of RUSTUM still existed in Sigistan, at the end of the 14th century. In particular, a remarkable *Dam* or *Dyke*, denominated from him; and which, the historian of Tamerlane relates, was destroyed by his army. (Sherefeddin, lib. ii. c. 45.)

<sup>4</sup> More of this subject will be found under the head of *Sacæ*.

army was distressed for provisions, and where the supply from the *Zarangæans* so opportunely came. There are, indeed, extensive deserts also *beyond* *Zarang*, in the way to *Sogdia*, and the *Jaxartes*; but they are too far removed from *Zarang*, to render it probable that the relief was sent thither.

The *Thamanæans* we cannot place. In *Thalia*, 117, they are mentioned with the *Sarangæans*, *Chorasmians*, *Parthians*, and *Hyrcanians*, as inhabiting the hills around the great plain, through which the river *Aces* flows; and concerning which we have given our opinion in page 257. There is, probably, some confusion between the *Hindmend*, the river of *Sigistan*, and that of *Ochus*, in *Aria*; since the above nations are not so situated, as to encircle any plain of the kind there mentioned. But, it is probable, that the *Thamanæans* may nevertheless have joined to the *Sarangæans*, although we cannot assign them their place.

If the *Sangatians* be not the *Sagartii*<sup>5</sup>, we labour under the same difficulty respecting them; and no less with regard to the *Utians* and *Mencians*, (or *Mecians*).

The *Utii*, *Myci*, and *Paricanii*, were armed like the *Pactyes*; *Polym.* 68; and were commanded by a son of *Darius*. It has appeared that the dress of the *Sagartii* partook of the *Pactyan* also; whence the latter should have been a people of some note; and doubtless neighbours to those who imitated

<sup>5</sup> The *Sangatians*, as we have seen, are called *Sagartians* by *Littlebury*.



them. In page 368, we have taken them for the *Bactearis*, a people inhabiting the mountains, opposite to, and on the SW of Ispahan : and we therefore are led to consider the *Utii* as the *Uxians*, which adjoined to the *Bactearis* on the SW, and are famous in the march of Alexander, from Babylon towards Susa <sup>6</sup>. The *Paricanii* (of Media) taken, in page 358, to be the *Paredoni* of Pliny, who held the Caspian Straits, are situated in the eastern quarter of Media ; and were so far connected with the *Utii* and *Myci*, as to use similar weapons, and to be joined in the same command with them. These, then, were of course neighbours to the *Uxians*, as well as to the *Sagartii*, who, as we have just seen, imitated the dress of the *Pactyes* ; whom the *Uxians* copied, in point of weapons. Thus it appears not improbable, that the *Utii*, or *Utians*, may be the *Uxians* : and the *Myci* may be, from the above connection, neighbours to them <sup>7</sup>.

In effect, then, the 14th Satrapy must be regarded as comprising Sigistan, together with such parts of the country between it and the Persian Gulf, as were not exempted from tribute by Darius. We conceive *Carmania*, in general, to belong to this Satrapy, as well as the country of *Lar*, bordering on the Gulf of Persia ; with several lesser tracts towards Media and Susiana. The islands of the gulf also, which are many in number, although none of them are of

<sup>6</sup> The *Bactearis* are no less distinguished in the warfare of Nadir Shah, in Persia.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny places the *Maci* near mount *Caucasus* of *Bactriana* ; lib. vi. c. 23.

great extent, save Kishmah, were specifically included: and as they sent a body of troops equal to a whole command, Polym. 80; no other than the Persian Gulf could be intended by the *Red* sea, in this place; for the islands of the ocean are too few, too inconsiderable, and too remote, to answer to the description. But our Author appears not to have known that the sea formed a gulf in that part, as we have shewn in page 260. On the whole, it must be admitted that the 14th Satrapy is very ill defined; Sigistan, and these islands, being almost the only parts that can be depended on. But we cannot help regarding the circumstance of the *islands*, as affording a kind of proof, that a considerable part of the opposite continent belonged to the same division: since the *islands* and *Sigistan* mark the two *extremities* on the NE and SW; as *Uxia* and *Carmania* on the NW and SE<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> There is much curious history belonging to these islands, which are scattered throughout the whole length of the Persian Gulf; and are, in general, nearest to the Persian shore. In effect they have, at times, contained the commercial establishments of the Phœnicians, and also of the European nations. But what is more gratifying to the mind is, that they have, in modern times, afforded asylums to the inhabitants of the maritime towns on the continent, when invaded or oppressed; and so regular has this system of taking refuge been, that some of the islands have their names from the opposite towns on the continent. In particular, the inhabitants of the continental *Ormuz* (or *Hormus*), passed over into the island of that name (the *Organa* of Nearchus), on the irruption of the Tartars, in the 13th century. None can feel the importance of *insular* situations, to the cause of liberty, more than ENGLISHMEN, especially at this time. The

Herodotus places the Persians at the head of the list, in Xerxes' army: (Polym. 61.) and says that they surpassed all the rest, not only in magnificence, but in valour; 83. They appear to have enjoyed indulgences beyond the rest of the army; and may, perhaps, not inaptly, be compared, in respect of the rest, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of Sepoys, or native troops. They had with them carriages for the women, and a vast number of attendants: as also camels and beasts of burthen to carry their provisions; besides those for the common occasions of the army<sup>9</sup>. With respect to their dress, this was also in a superior style: they wore small helmets which they called *tiaræ*; their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves; and adorned with plates of steel in imitation of the scales of fishes: their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called *Gerra*, beneath which was a quiver. They had short spears, large bows and arrows, made of reeds; and on their right side a dagger, suspended from a belt. Polym. 61. And, in 83, he says, that their armour was remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned it. They were commanded by *Otanes*, the father-in-law of Xerxes.

Tartars had no fleets to pursue the fugitives to the islands; but the king of Persia, who possessed ships, made use of the islands as places of banishment.

<sup>9</sup> The Greek auxiliaries, in the army of the younger Cyrus, appear to have had much the same privileges; and approach still nearer, in this respect, to the European troops, that form a part of the armies employed by the European states in India.

That body of Persian infantry, called the *Immortals*, consisted of 10,000; clothed and armed like the rest <sup>1</sup>.

XVI. "Three hundred talents were levied from the *Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians*; who constituted the 16th Satrapy <sup>2</sup>." Thalia, 93.

All these nations, (as well as the *Gandarii* or *Gardarii* <sup>3</sup>, who formed a part of the 7th Satrapy) appeared *generally* in the same arms and clothing as the *Bactrians* <sup>4</sup>. Polym. 64, 65, 66: that is, they had bows made of *reeds (Bamboos)*, and short spears. Their head-dress was the same with that of the Persians and Medes, that is, "small helmets, which they call *Tiaræ*;" 61. So that, as has been remarked in page 363, all the nations situated to the east and north of Media, and of which tract, the continuation of Taurus and Caucasus seems to form the southern boundary, have so many points of resemblance to each other, as to shew that they had a common origin; that is, doubtless, from SCYTHIA.

The provinces above enumerated in this Satrapy, are all contiguous, and form one of the largest of those divisions. Little explanation is necessary to the geography of it: and the principal difficulty

<sup>1</sup> See Polym. 83. for the reason of their being so named.

<sup>2</sup> The 15th in the order here given.

<sup>3</sup> Called *Gandarii* in the Satrapy, but *Gardarii* in the list of the army.

<sup>4</sup> The *Arii*, although included in the same Satrapy, or government, with the other provinces beyond the continuation of *Caucasus*, had *bows* like the Medes; that is, large and long; but were otherwise like the Bactrians, to whose country they joined.

arises from the defect of information, respecting the extent of the 7th Satrapy, which was surrounded on *three* sides, by the one under discussion, as if *extracted* from it. There can be no doubt, that by *Sogdia*, is meant the country of *Soghd*, or Samarcand, situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes; excluding *Kotlan*, *Saganian*, and *Kilan*, as parts of the *Sacan*, or *Bactrian*, Satrapies. *Chorasmia* must be taken for *Khowarezm*, at large: and *Aria* for Herat; which is sometimes written without the *aspirate*, at this time.

As to *Parthia*, the subject is not so clear, because its limits were perpetually varying, from the date of the dynasty of the *Arsacidæ*, who first extinguished the power of the *Seleucidæ* in the East; and then gradually erected the celebrated and powerful empire, that bore the name of PARTHIAN.

By the Parthia of Herodotus must undoubtedly be meant their *original* country, previous to its extension by conquest. Many of the latter geographers and historians formed their ideas of it, *after* its extension; and therefore do not agree amongst themselves.

We have extracted, in a note<sup>5</sup>, the principal

<sup>5</sup> Justin says, that the Parthians were *Scythian exiles*, who possessed themselves of places *between Hyrcania*, the *Dahæ*, *Arii*, *Spartans*, (read *Aparytæ* from Herodotus, Thalia, 91.) and *Margianians*; lib. xli. c. 1. Strabo (511) places PARTHIA between *Margiana* and *Aria*: and, in 514, says, that being originally of no great extent, it was increased, in after times, by the addition of *Camisene*, *Chorene*, and other districts (formerly belonging to Media), as far as the Caspian gates. In 509, he

authorities for the position of the *original* seats of the Parthians, after they settled in IRAN, or Persia ; and these appear to have been placed between Chorasmia, Margiana, Aria, and the Caspian provinces : that is, they possessed the hilly tract on the north of *Naisabour*. To this they must afterwards have added *Kumis* (the *Comisene* of Ptolemy, *Camisene* of Strabo), as it was called PARTHIA in the time of Alexander, who crossed it in the line between *Mazanderan* and *Bactria* : and *Hecatompylos*, supposed to be near the site of *Damgan*, was the capital of Parthia, visited by Alexander. So that Parthia may be supposed to have included the province of *Naisabour* likewise, as it lay between their first possessions and *Kumis* : and Parthia *at large* extended from the *Caspian strait* to *Chorasmia* ; and from the mountains that confine the Caspian provinces to *Aria* and *Margiana*. But the present question is, what were the possessions of the Parthians, of the days of Herodotus ? We conceive the answer is to be collected from the words of Strabo and Justin : and that the *original Parthia* of *Herodotus* was nothing more than the mountainous tract between *Hyrkania*, *Margiana*, *Aria*, and the desert of *Chorasmia*.

says that the river *Ochus* flows near Parthia : this is the river that passes by *Nesa* and *Bawerd*. Pliny, vi. 25, places Parthia between *Media* and *Aria* ; *Carmania* and *Hyrkania* : and as he extends *Hyrkania* eastward to *Margiana*, it is certain that his Parthia agrees with that of Ptolemy. See his *Asia*, Tab. v. Moreover, he says, that *Hecatompylos*, the capital of Parthia, lies in the middle part of it, and is only 133 MP. beyond the Caspian gates : lib. vi. c. 25 and 15.

The *Parthians* and *Chorasmians* were joined in one command, a presumptive proof of contiguity, or at least of vicinity : the *Arii* and *Sogdii* formed separate commands. Polym. 65, 66.

VII. " The seventh Satrapy was composed of the *Satgagydæ*<sup>6</sup>, the *Gandarii*, the *Dadicæ*, and *Aparytæ*, who together paid 170 talents<sup>7</sup>."

It has been said above, that this Satrapy was surrounded on three sides by the 16th; for it appears to have been composed of *Margiana* and some adjacent districts : and that it was bounded on the south by *Aria* ; west, by *Parthia* ; north, by *Chorasmia* and *Sogdia* ; and on the east by *Bactriana*, which formed the 12th Satrapy. The name of *Margiana* was not known to Herodotus ; and was probably bestowed by the Greeks, from the river *Margus* (or rather *Marg-ab*), which flowed through it. However, the particulars of this division are by no means clearly made out ; and we shall assign our reasons for the above arrangement.

In Isidore of Charax, there are found *Gadar* and *Apabartica*, between *Nisæ*, taken for *Naisabour* ; and *Antiochia* of *Margiana*, taken for *Meru* : and these we regard as the seats of the *Gandarii* and *Aparytæ* of our Author ; more especially as the former are called *Gardarii* in another place ; that is, in Polym. 66.

Again, Isidore mentions *Siroc* and *Safri*, as places between *Gadar* and *Apabartica* ; and these are

<sup>6</sup> *Sattagydiens*, in Littlebury, vol. i. 306.

<sup>7</sup> This is the 16th division, according to our arrangement.

recognised in the well known city of *Seraks*, and in the village of *Jaferi*; places about midway between *Naisabour* and *Meru*: whilst *Gandar*, or *Gudar*, appears yet more satisfactorily in *Caendar*, a place of importance in the same quarter; as we learn from the history of Jinghis Kan. To these notices may be added, that in Pliny, vi. c. 16, the *Gandarii* are mentioned with the *Chorasmii*, *Attasini*, and *Sarangæ*. Now, *Caendar* lies on the frontiers of *Khowarezm*, and has a place of some note near it, named *Tedjen*, or *Tedzen*, which may perhaps be intended by *Attasin* \*.”

The *Dadicæ* being joined in one command with the *Gandarii* or *Gardarii* (for they seem to mean the same people), in Polym. 66, were probably their neighbours, although we cannot find out their situation. They wore, moreover, the same armour with the *Bactrians*, *Chorasmians*, and *Sogdians*; by whom we may conceive they were surrounded.

No name like the *Satgagydcæ* (or *Sattagydcæ*, as Littlebury calls them, vol. i. 306), can be found: and the *Isaticæ*, or people of *Yezd*, the only one in which any resemblance can be traced, were in the province of *Persia proper*, or on its borders: too far removed to answer the description.

From these scanty notices, it can only be supposed that the seventh Satrapy of Herodotus was made up of the province of *Margiana*, and some tracts adjoining to it on the west: and that it had for its boundaries on the south, the ridge of mountains

\* *Kondor* in Abulfeda's *Chorasan*.



that separates it from *Aria* : on the west, the countries of *Baverd*, *Toos*, &c. the original seats of the *Parthians* ; on the north, the desert towards the *Oxus* ; and on the east, *Bactria*. In effect, that it was surrounded on three sides by the 16th Satrapy, and on the fourth by the 12th Satrapy.

XII. " The 12th Satrapy <sup>9</sup> produced 360 talents, and was composed of the whole country, from the *Bactrians* to *Æglos* <sup>1</sup>." *Thalia*, 92.

The Bactrians are said, *Polym.* 64, to have most resembled the *Medes*, in the covering of their heads ; and to have used bows made of *reeds* (*bamboos*), and short spears. There were Bactrian *cavalry*, as well as *infantry* ; *Thalia*, 86.

No rule is given by which we can form an idea of the extent of this Satrapy ; unless the modern province of *Balk* and its dependencies, are taken for the country of the *Bactrians* at large. There is indeed, little question but that the present *city* of *Balk*, is the *Bactra* or *Bactria* of the ancients ; but whether the modern *province* may answer to the ancient one, cannot be known. It seems probable, however, that as *Bactiar* <sup>2</sup> signified the east, *Bactriana* might contain all the tract, classed by the Oriental geographers, as belonging to the province of *Balk* ; which literally comprises the *eastern* extremity of the modern empire of *Persia* <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The 17th, in our arrangement.

<sup>1</sup> *Æglans* ; *Littlebury*, Vol. i. p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *D'Herbelot*, article *Bakhter*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bactra* or *Bactria*, was a place of banishment, in the time of *Darius Hystaspes* ; perhaps as being the most *remote* province

But *Æglos* is an unknown position, and may lie either towards *India*, or *Aria*; or towards the *Saranga*, or the *Sacæ*. It is unlikely that *Bactria* included any of the *Indian* provinces, on the west of the *Indus*; since *India* was a *very extensive* Satrapy, and yet did not extend very far into *India proper*; so that nothing can be spared on the *Persian* side. *Kandahar*, therefore, as well as *Kabul*, was no doubt a part of the *Indian* Satrapy; whose revenue so much surpassed any of the others. Again, *Saranga* (*Sigistan*), *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Sogdia*, are appropriated: and there is reason to conclude that *Kotlan*, *Saganian*, *Vashgherd*, &c. situated on the north of the *Oxus*, were in the hands of the *Sacæ*, whose country, together with that of the *Caspian* (or rather *Casii*), formed a separate Satrapy; for *Alexander's* expedition amongst the *Sacæ* seems to have been into *Kotlan* and *Saganian*.

The mountainous and extensive province of *Gaur*, which lies on the SW of *Balk*; and between it, the *Indian* provinces, *Saranga*, and *Aria*; was most probably classed with *Bactria*; but however strong the *probability*, there is no kind of *certainty* respecting it. (But whether or not, we do not consider *this* as the *Æglos* intended by our Author.)

from *Susa*. The *Ionians* were *threatened* with captivity in *Bactra*; *Erato*, 9: and *Herodotus* says, "The *Barcean* captives were carried to *Darius*, who assigned them for their residence, a portion of land in the *Bactrian* district, to which they gave the name of *Barce*: this has within my time contained a great number of inhabitants." *Melpomene*, 204.

Whether Herodotus had this country in contemplation at all, is a great doubt, as his descriptions are more and more deficient, and dark, as he advances eastward from the centre of *Persia*. Pliny, however, seems evidently to have intended *Gaur* by the country of the *Mardi*, (vi. 16.) which, he says, extended to *Bactria*. It has already been observed, that the term *Mardi* was always applied to savage mountaineers; and no country is better suited to this description than *Gaur*; which is environed by craggy and lofty mountains; and is, in a degree, sequestered from the surrounding countries by this barrier <sup>4</sup>.

According to our Author's context, one might conclude that the countries of *Bactriana*, and *Æglos*, formed the *opposite extremes* of this Satrapy. *Bactriana*, then, taken as above, for the *Balk* province, may be conceived to form the *western* quarter of this Satrapy; and by the same rule, we ought to look for *Æglos* in the *eastern* quarter. Now the most remote eastern province of *Balk* is *Kil*, *Gil*, or *Kilan*; may not this be the *Kilos*, *Ekilos*, or *Æglos* of our Author?

XV. "The *Sacæ* and *Caspîi* formed the 15th Satrapy; and provided 250 talents." *Thalia*, 93 <sup>5</sup>.

As the subject of the *SACÆ* has been already discussed, at large, in the account of *Eastern Scythia*; and that tribe of them subject to *Persia*, placed in the eastern quarter of *Sogdiana*, between the upper

<sup>4</sup> See above, page 373.

<sup>5</sup> The 18th, in this arrangement.

parts of the rivers *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*; it will be unnecessary to say more in this place, concerning their *geographical position*, than that they possessed the countries of *Kotlan* and *Saganian*, which were adjacent to *Bactriana*, *Sogdia*, and mount *Imaus*.

The *Sacæ*, Polym. 64, were joined in the same command with the Bactrians, their neighbours; "Bactria amongst the *Sacæ*," says our Author, in Calliope, 113. They were not only a very warlike tribe, but must have been very powerful also; since it is said of Cyrus, after the reduction of *Lydia*, that he held the IÖNIANS in trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon *Babylon*, and the *Bactrians*; and was prepared also for *more serious resistance* from the SACIANS and *Egyptians*; wherefore he resolved to take the command in these expeditions, himself, and to entrust one of his officers with the conduct of the *Iönian* war;" Clio, 153. It is probable, therefore, that the *Sacæ* were at this time making inroads on the eastern frontier of Persia, and had established themselves in the countries just mentioned; and probably in *Bactriana* also<sup>6</sup>.

It appears also, Clio, 177, that Cyrus pursued his conquests in the east, previous to the reduction of *Babylon*; it being no doubt of more importance to check the spirit, and the progress of the Scythians,

<sup>6</sup> In after times, as we have seen, they had a principal share in overthrowing the Macedonian empire in *Bactriana* (Strabo, 511); and made extensive conquests in *Armenia* also.

than to undertake new conquests in Babylonia; from whence his kingdom might receive no annoyance in the mean time. It is said then, that "whilst Harpagus was engaged in the conquest of LOWER ASIA, (that is, *Asia Minor*, &c.) Cyrus himself conducted an army against the UPPER REGIONS; of every part of which he became master<sup>7</sup>. The particulars of his victories I shall omit (says the historian); expatiating only upon those which are more memorable in themselves; and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When he had reduced the *whole of the continent*, he commenced his march against the Assyrians<sup>8</sup>." Clio, 177.

It may be supposed then, that the *Sacæ*, as well as the *Bactrians* and other adjoining nations, were conquered in the course of this expedition; and that, from the expression of the historian, with less difficulty than Cyrus had expected. By the arrangement of the Satrapies, the *Sacæ* must have been in the condition of subjects, at the accession of Darius Hystaspes; (see also, *Polymnia*, 9). So that, from circumstances, they could only have been reduced by Cyrus; and *Sogdia* must have been in the possession of Cyrus, at the date of his expedition against the *Massagetæ*, which cost him his life; as well from the history of the expedition itself, as from the arrangement of the Satrapies; and also from the strong circumstance of his having founded a city at

<sup>7</sup> By the *upper regions* may be understood the *eastern*, or towards the sun-rising.

<sup>8</sup> The conquest of Egypt was left to Cambyses.

the passage of the Jaxartes ; which city, (*Cyropolis* or *Cyreschata*), was particularly regarded by Alexander <sup>9</sup>.

It was also during his *Sacan* expedition, either outward or homeward, that the people of *Sigistan*, or *Zarang*, gave such material aid to the army of Cyrus, as to obtain the title of *Euergetæ*. See above, page 381.

It may be remarked, that Justin either was not informed of, or thought unworthy of notice, this conquest of the *Sacæ* ; unless he includes them in the Scythians *generally*. He says, lib. i. c. 8, that " Cyrus having reduced *Asia*, and the *East in general*, carried war into *Scythia* : " meaning, certainly, the country assigned by Herodotus to the *Massagetæ*.

The *Sacæ* were a very distinguished nation in the army of Xerxes, both by *sea* and *land*<sup>1</sup>. It has been remarked, that there were detachments of them, together with Persians and Medes (who were reckoned the best troops) on board the ships of war, apparently in the nature of *marines* ; Polym. 96. The preference given to the *Sacæ*, was probably for their superior skill in archery ; the Scythians in

<sup>9</sup> According to Justin, lib. xii. c. 4, Cyrus built three cities near the *Tanais* (*Jaxartes*). Arrian also speaks of the city of *Cyropolis*, founded by Cyrus, and which Alexander took possession of ; lib. iv.

<sup>1</sup> Mardonius chose the *Sacæ*, *Medes*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*, amongst the troops that were to form his army in Thessaly. Urania, 113.

general being celebrated on the score of archery<sup>2</sup>. The use of such a missile weapon as an arrow in a sea-fight, in skilful hands, must have been of great advantage; especially as the Greeks neglected the use of it; for it is remarked that, at the battle of *Marathon* the Athenians were destitute both of *archers and cavalry*; Erato, 112. Xenophon found a vast difficulty, early in the retreat, through the want of cavalry and of people who threw missile weapons; and which being easily removed, by embodying the Rhodian slingers, the army was saved. Anab. lib. iii.

The *Sacæ* rendered the greatest services to the Persians in the battle of *Marathon*, Erato, 113; and at the battle of *Platæa*, as cavalry, Calliope, 71. They had helmets terminating in a *point*, and wore *breeches*; which article of dress seems to have been peculiar to them amongst all this army, and may have been an additional reason for employing them on ship-board; where such a dress would have its convenience<sup>3</sup>. They were armed with *bows, daggers*, and a *hatchet* called *sagaris*.

<sup>2</sup> We are told that the *Medes* learnt from Scythian masters to improve in their management of the bow; Clio, 73. Hercules also is fabled to have learnt that art from the Scythians, who were great hunters. The *Sacæ* were distinguished (no doubt from their superior dexterity as archers) at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*. See Calliope, 61 and 72.

The Athenians are said to have had at one period Scythians amongst their troops. Belisarius had *Massagetæ* in the African army. (Procopius.)

<sup>3</sup> Aristagoras remarks, Terp. 49, in order to sink the military

Concerning this last weapon, authors are not agreed. It appears that it was in use, not only with the *Sacæ*, but with the Persians also; and yet it seems to have been regarded as a singular kind of weapon. In the *Anabasis*, lib. iv. a Persian prisoner, belonging to the army of Teribazus, in Armenia, had a Persian bow and quiver, together with a *sagaris*; which Spelman translates an *Amazonian battle-axe*. Suidas doubts whether it was of the *sword*, or of the *hatchet* kind; but Montfaucon calls it a battle-axe with two edges. Littlebury translates it, *bill*; and it is certain, that in Thibet and Bootan, there is a large sword of the *bill-hook* form, which the Author has himself seen; and Thibet is a part of the same region with *Sakita*, the proper country of the *Sacæ* in question<sup>4</sup>.

The *Caspia* or *Caspians*, joined with the *Sacæ*, may with more probability be the *Casians*, or people of *Casia*, in Ptolemy; that is, *Kashgur*; which country borders on that of the *Sacæ*, or *Sakitæ*. The Caspian sea is quite out of the question; for the Massagetæ lay between the *Sacæ* and the (*Aral*, regarded as a part of the) Caspian; and moreover

character of the Persians, in comparison with the Greeks, that, they go to battle "armed only with a bow and *short* spear; that their *robes were long*; that they suffered their hair to grow; and would afford an easy conquest."

<sup>4</sup> Weapons of the kind here spoken of, appear to have been in use in several countries; perhaps, because they answer the purpose of a hatchet to cut wood, as well as a weapon of war: and it might have been contrived to answer both purposes, without any great sacrifice of the qualities proper to either. In the *Toxaris* of Lucian, a wound is inflicted with a *hooked* sword.



the Caspians have been already placed, in the 11th Satrapy, at the coast of that sea.

XVII. "The *Paricani* and *Ethiopians* of Asia paid 400 talents, and formed the 17th Satrapy." Thalia, 94<sup>5</sup>.

The *Paricani* of Media have been supposed, page 358, to be intended for those whom other ancient authors call *Paratacæni*. The people of that name under consideration, we refer to the country of *Gedrosia*; i. e. *Kedge* or *Makran* in the modern geography: considering the town of *Fahraj* or *Paraj*, as the *Poorah* of the historians of Alexander; to which that conqueror came, after surmounting the dangers and hardships of the Gedrosian desert: and this *Poorah* we regard as the seat or capital of the *Paricani*, who are classed in the same Satrapy with the *Ethiopians of Asia*.

Herodotus takes some pains to discriminate *these* Ethiopians from *those* of Africa, or from *above Egypt*; Polym. 69; for he says, (70), "Those Ethiopians who came from the *more eastern* parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the *Indians*. These differed from the former, in nothing but their language, and their hair. The Oriental Ethiopians have their hair straight; those of Africa have their hair more crisp and curling than any other men. The armour of the *Asiatic* Ethiopians resembled that of the *Indians*, but on their heads they wore the skins of horses' heads, on which the manes and

<sup>5</sup> The 19th in this arrangement.

ears were left. The manes served as plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect."

In these Ethiopians, we are of course to look for a race of men *blacker* than the rest of western Asia, and yet situated within *Persia*; for India formed a distinct Satrapy. And how well soever the description of *black* complexion, and *straight* hair, may agree with the people of the peninsula of India, these are out of the question; because it is expressly said, that the southern black people were independent of *Persia*. Of course they can only be looked for in the south-east angle of *Persia* towards *India*. Being formed in one joint command with the *Indians*, this circumstance strengthens the idea of their being neighbours; and we must therefore regard the Ethiopians of *Asia* as the people of *Makran*, *Haur*<sup>6</sup>, and other provinces in that quarter; for these were bordered by *Indian* provinces, on the north, as well as on the east.

The *Parycanians*, or people of *Poorah*, as we have supposed them, appear to be the body of cavalry mentioned in *Polym.* 86, but without any particular description, that might lead to identify them with the *Barcanii* of *Curtius*, (*lib.* iii. c. 2.) These last formed a part of the army of *Darius* against *Alexander*; and consisted of 2,000 horse and 10,000 foot. They, however, might have been the *Parycanii* of *Media* (or *Paratacæni*).

*M.* *D'Anville* (*Geog. Ancien.* Vol. ii. page 295.) places the *Barcanii* at *Balkan*, at the east side of

<sup>6</sup> The *Oritæ* of *Alexander* and *Nearchus*.

the Caspian sea, and near the ancient mouth of the Oxus. This he may have done on the authority of Stephanus, who (as Cellarius quotes him, Vol. ii. 504), says, that "the Barcanii were situated at the extremity of *Hyrkania*;" which is indeed the situation of Balkan: but then this place forms a part of *Chorasmia*, which is itself included in the 16th Satrapy. And moreover, the strength of the body of troops, 12,000 in number, appears too great for the district of Balkan alone; and, it must be recollected, that in the arrangement of the Satrapies, the *Parycanii* are classed with the *Ethiopians* of *Asia*; which latter, in the list of the army, were joined in the same command with the *Indians*.

We are, however, very far from being tenacious of the above opinion, respecting the geographical situation of *these* Parycanii: being by no means satisfied with the notices, on which the boundaries of the Satrapy, under discussion, are founded. It has been remarked before, that our Author's ideas were more and more circumscribed, as he extended his views and descriptions eastward: and on the whole, it can only be concluded generally, that the Satrapy in question, extended from the entrance of the Persian Gulf, on the west, to the borders of India, on the east; and from the Erythræan sea on the south, to *Saranga* and *Arachosia* on the north.

XX. and last Satrapy. "The *Indians*, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionally taxed; they formed the 20th Satrapy, and furnished 600 talents in *golden ingots*." *Thalia*, 94.

How much of India Darius possessed, is not known; but the tribute of it, if rightly stated, was immense. By Herodotus's description it might be concluded, that the king possessed little beyond the Indus, save the *Panjab*, *Sindi*, and the country along the Indus, generally; in addition to all the Indian provinces situated on the Persian side, and which were indeed very extensive: that is to say, Kabul, Kandahar, and that wide stripe of country along the Indus, to the sea. But all these, collectively, could never produce so vast a sum as 600 talents in gold, each of which were reckoned equal to 13 of silver. Thalia, 95.

It appears, in fact, from our Author's own statement, that the number 600 is a mistake. For, as he gives in Thalia 95, the number of talents of silver that were equivalent to that portion of the tribute that was paid in gold, at 4680 (that is, at the rate of 13 to one), no more than 360, instead of 600, should be reckoned; since this last number, multiplied by 13, produces, of course, 7,800. So that we must lessen the Indian tribute, in the proportion of  $\frac{4}{10}$  of the whole; but it is yet too large, out of all proportion; it being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as *Babylonia* and *Assyria*, which formed one of the richest of the Satrapies.

That the tribute was paid in gold, appears very probable; for we learn from the *Ayin Acbaree*, that the rivers which descend from the northern mountains, in the west of India, yielded much gold. Herodotus knew this also: Thalia, 106: and so did Curtius. It was the only instance in which gold

was paid: and this is one, out of a great many instances, in which our Author is right; when, to a common observer, he might appear the least so.

It is said, Polym. 65, that the dress of the Indians was cotton<sup>7</sup>: “that their *bows* were made of *reeds*,” by which, as in several other instances<sup>8</sup>, *bamboos* are unquestionably to be understood; as they are at this day in common use. Their arrows were also “of reeds, (of a small size, we may suppose, as at present) and pointed with iron.” And in Polym. 86, “the Indian cavalry were armed like their infantry; but besides *led* horses, they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses.” Here, no mention of elephants is made, although they were so much used in war, when Alexander visited India, at too short an interval after the time to which the descriptions of our Author refer, to have allowed of any considerable change. He does not appear to have known that there were any elephants in India; another proof of the slight degree of knowledge of India, possessed by the Greeks, in those times.

Herodotus’s very confined knowledge of India, is also proved by the extraordinary reports which he has detailed concerning its inhabitants; some of which are highly injurious to the character of that industrious, inoffensive, and highly civilized people. For, with many particulars that are true, respecting

<sup>7</sup> The cotton shrub is afterwards described. The dresses here intended may perhaps have been *quilted*, like those of the Phœnicians and the *Assyrians*; who are said to have had *linen cuirasses*. See above, page 352; and Polym. c. 89.

<sup>8</sup> As amongst the *Bactrians*, *Caspians*, &c.

their customs, and manners, he has mixed a greater number that are false; and of such a nature as to brand their characters with a charge of odious and obscene practices; from which they are perfectly free, at this time; and were so, no doubt, then. Thalia, 98, *et seq.* The expedition of Alexander was within 150 years of the time referred to, by our Author; and the Grecians, who then visited India, speak of a very different state of things, even amongst the people of the Panjab<sup>9</sup>, who appear to have been polished and well informed. How otherwise can it be reconciled, that a prince of Alexander's character, should have selected one of these Indians for a companion<sup>1</sup>? What say Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom Arrian collected his ideas? "That the country (adjacent to the branches of the Indus) was rich, the inhabitants thereof good husbandmen, and excellent soldiers: that they were governed by the nobility, and lived peaceably: their rulers imposing nothing harsh, or unjust upon them." Arrian, lib. v. ch. 25.

It is true that Herodotus says, Thalia, 98, "Under the name of *Indians*, many nations are comprehended, using different languages:" and, as he had heard more of the western Indians, or those towards the Indus, than the others, (that being the part more particularly known to the Persians, by their recent expedition), it is possible that the tribes

<sup>9</sup> The country watered by the *five* eastern branches of the Indus.

<sup>1</sup> We allude to *Calanus*, of whom more will be said in the sequel.

spoken of, might have been the savages of some of the wild tracts adjacent to the Indus, below the Panjab country.

He indeed excepts one tribe of Indians, from the generality of the practices imputed to the others, and whose character and description, in a general point of view, accord with those of the Hindoos. "These," says he, "differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death, sow no grain, have no fixed habitations, and live *solely* upon *vegetables*. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx; the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these are taken sick, they retire to some solitude and there remain; no one expressing the least concern about them, during their illness, or after their death." Thalia, 100.

Here we may observe, that truth and misrepresentation are blended together. It is true, that they abstain from animal food; that they live on rice and vegetables; and that they expose their sick to, oftentimes, untimely death: but it is not true, that they have no fixed habitations, for no people in the world live so much in one place; nor that they live on grain produced spontaneously, for none are greater cultivators. All that Herodotus has said, therefore, proves in the strongest manner, the very imperfect kind of information concerning India, that had reached Greece; or that had been collected in Persia. For if he could say, and say truly, of Egypt, Euterpe, 35, that "it claimed our admiration, beyond all other countries; and the wonderful things

which it exhibited, demanded a very copious description: that the EGYPTIANS, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a *river*, different in its *nature* and *properties*, from *all* the *rivers* in the *world*; and were themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind, by the singularity of their institutions, and their manners;” would he not also have distinguished the HINDOOS, together with *their country* and *river*, had he been sufficiently informed concerning them? Egypt was indeed the admiration of Herodotus: this he *had seen*; but Hindoostan, and China, were placed, not only beyond the reach of his observation, but, in a great measure, beyond his knowledge.

Some of the particulars respecting India, which occur in our Author, and which, from the odd mixture of truth and falsehood, are worthy of being pointed out to present notice, are added in the notes. It does not by any means appear, that he considered *any* of the Indians as being polished, or well-informed<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Thalia, 98. “Under the name of Indians, many nations are comprehended, using *different* languages; of these some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not; some inhabit marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint makes a canoe. These Indians have a dress made of rushes, which having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.”

99. “To the east of these, are other Indians called PADERI, who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh, and are said to observe these customs:—if any man among them be diseased, his nearest connections put him to death, alledging in excuse, that sickness



He further says of the Indians, Thalia, 94, that  
 “ they were the most populous nation of whom we

would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connections treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but to old age there are very few who arrive, for in case of sickness they put every one to death\*.”

101. “ Among all these Indians whom I have specified, the communication between the sexes is like that of the beasts, open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Ethiopians.”

102. “ There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of *Caspatyrum*, and the country of *Pactyica*. Of all the Indians, these in their manners most resemble the Bactrians: they are distinguished above the rest for their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold.”—

The cotton plant is thus described, in Thalia 106. “ They (the Indians) possess a kind of plant, which, instead of fruit, produces *wool*, of a finer and better quality than that of sheep; of this, the natives make their clothes.”

\* It is remarkable, that these people, so described as *cannibals*, are twice mentioned in other parts of our Author, under the name of *Callatiæ* or *Callantiæ*. Thalia 38 and 97. He says, in the former place, that they are “ a people of India, known to eat the dead bodies of their parents; and that they were disgusted at the proposal of *burning* them, made by Cambyses.”

The passage in Thalia 97, is not so easily understood; for *there* the *Callantian* Indians (if meant for *Callatian*) are said to have *rites of sepulture*: according to Mr. Beloe’s translation. Perhaps something else is meant, as there is said to be a difference of opinion respecting the meaning of the original.

have any knowledge, and were proportionally taxed" by Darius; which, indeed, appears from the vastness of the sums raised, could the numbers be depended on: but as he limits the length of the known parts of Asia, to a space *short* of what he assigns to Europe, (under the extended dimensions above described) or even to Libya; Melp. 44; he could by no means have meant to include the *whole* of India: nor, indeed, does his description of that country express it. For he says, "Europe, in length, much exceeds the other two (Libya and Asia), but is of far inferior breadth." Melp. 42. And in his description of India, he says, Melp. 98, "That part of India which lies towards the *east* is very sandy." And again, "the part most eastward is a *perfect desert*, from the sand;" but it is well known, that the eastern part of India, (Bengal and Oude, generally) is by far the most fertile part; nor will the above description apply to any other part of India than that between the lower part of the Indus, and *Rajpootana*; and to this, it *does* literally apply. And hence, combining this information, with that concerning the southern part, which contained the blackest people, and who were independent of Persia, Thalia 101; we may conclude that *Darius*, in fact, possessed no more of India than what lay contiguous to the Indus, and its branches<sup>3</sup>: and also, that the limit of our Author's knowledge eastward, was the sandy desert of Jesselmere, called *Registan* (or the Country of Sand); and that the

<sup>3</sup> Of course, these cannot be the *Ethiopians of Asia*, who attended Xerxes, for they were included in the 17th Satrapy.

rest was described from vague report, which generally supplies the want of *facts*, by monstrous fables; as if men, when constrained to invent, thought that probable stories were too insipid for belief.

Herodotus had certainly never heard of the GANGES, a river in so many respects like the Nile, and in bulk so much superior; and this may convince us, that the Persians had not penetrated so far to the east at that period. But as he speaks of the nation of the PADÆI, said to be one of the most *eastern* nations of India; and who killed or exposed the aged persons amongst them; it must be supposed that he meant the people who inhabit the banks of the *Ganges*, the *proper* and *Sanscrit* name of which is PADDA; GANGA being the appellative only; so that the *Padæi* may answer to the *Gangaridæ* of later Greek writers. See Thalia, 99.

It is a circumstance very well known, that whilst Alexander was at the Indus (in the *Panjab* country), some *Bramins* either came, or were brought, to him; and that one of them, by name CALANUS, at the request of the king, accompanied him into Persia. In this Indian philosopher we trace, at the distance of more than 21 centuries, the same frame of mind, and the like superstitions, as in the same tribe, in our own times; a contempt of death, founded on an unshaken belief of the IMMORTALITY of the SOUL, (a cordial drop which the most *atrocious* of the *enlightened* moderns would rob us of); and an unconquerable adherence to ancient customs. The friendly connection that subsisted between Alexander and this philosopher, does infinite honour to both;

for it proves that both possessed great minds and amiable dispositions; and that Alexander was, at bottom, a philosopher himself; otherwise the independent mind of Calanus could not have taken such hold of him. Alexander never appears to more advantage, than during the last act of the life of Calanus. This Indian sage, finding his health decline, and believing that his end approached (he was then 73, according to Diodorus, lib. xix. c. 2.), determined to lose his life on a funeral pile, to avoid the misery of a gradual decay; to which Alexander reluctantly consented, from an idea, that some other mode of suicide, less grateful to the feelings of Calanus, would certainly be resorted to. Alexander accordingly gave directions to Ptolemy, to comply with every request of the dying man; and to render him every honour that his situation admitted of; and even condescended to arrange the ceremonies himself. Descriptions of the awful ceremony are to be found in Arrian and in Plutarch<sup>4</sup>. Arrian appears to be much struck with the character and fortitude of Calanus; and remarks, that “this is an example of no mean import, to those who study mankind; to shew how firm and unalterable the mind of man is, when custom, or education, has taken full possession of it<sup>5</sup>.”

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, as well as Arrian, says, that Calanus told Alexander that he should soon see him again at Babylon. The death of Calanus happened at *Pasagarda*. A severe frost happened on the night of the funeral, and occasioned the death of many persons, who committed debauches at the funeral feast given by Alexander. (Plutarch in Alex.)

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, lib. vii. My friend Mr. Wilkins supposes that his name may have been *Kālyānāh*, in his own country.

It may be believed, that the *moral* conduct of Alexander was influenced and improved by associating with this blameless man ; and we therefore must lament that his acquaintance with *Calanus* had not an earlier commencement. Then might the sad tragedy of *Clitus* have never been acted : and the inquiry into the conduct of *Philotas* might have been more dispassionate ! Happy the men in power, who have those of sense and moderation for their companions ! But it is too unreasonable often to expect independence of mind, in such situations. Alexander, therefore, was a rare instance of a prince who tolerated it <sup>6</sup>.

Thus, the accusation of barbarism in the manners of the Indians, brought by Herodotus, falls to the ground ; unless the same barbarism is to be attributed to Alexander.

There occurs in Diodorus (lib. xix. c. 2.) an ac-

<sup>6</sup> The history of CALANUS brings to mind that of another virtuous Asiatic, ALLAYEE KAN, a physician of eminence, who, at the desire of Nadir Shah, accompanied him from Delhi to Persia, after his conquest of Hindoostan, in 1740. This physician was a Mahomedan of family, and of the most respectable character ; and, according to the anecdotes given of him by ABDUL KHURREM, pages 44 and 74, was worthy of being placed in the same list with CALANUS. By the influence which this gentleman possessed over the mind of one of the most stubborn and bloody tyrants the earth ever produced ; as well as by a variety of other instances of a similar influence, operating on other men ; we are led to suppose, that of all professors, those of physic take the firmest hold of the minds of the persons, whose necessities they administer to, when medical skill is combined with sagacity and address. And, to the honour of the profession, it must be acknowledged, that this influence has very often been exerted to the best of purposes.

count of an Indian widow's burning herself on the funeral pile of her husband, who had commanded the troops brought out of India; we must suppose, by Alexander. The name of this general was *Ceteus*, (or rather *Keeteus*); and he was, no doubt, of the *Kätri* tribe of Hindoos. The event happened in the camp of Eumenes, on the borders of Media, about eight years after the death of Alexander, during the struggle for empire, between Eumenes and Antigonus<sup>7</sup>.

The ceremony is described to be exceedingly alike to what the Author has himself seen in India; in the distribution of the personal ornaments of the widow, to her servants; in her being more particularly attended by her husband's brothers; in turn-

<sup>7</sup> "KEETEUS left behind him *two* wives, who disputed the honour of burning themselves with the body of their husband, who fell in battle, after fighting with great courage. It was decided in favour of the youngest, the elder being pregnant.

"As soon as she came to the pile, she took off the ornaments of her person, and distributed them amongst her servants and friends as tokens of remembrance. The ornaments consisted of a number of rings on her fingers, set with all manner of precious stones of divers colours; a great number of small golden stars, interspersed with sparkling stones of all sorts, in her head-dress; together with abundance of jewels about her neck. At length she took leave of all her family and servants, and then her brother placed her upon the pile; and, to the great admiration of the spectators, she ended her life with an heroic courage.

"The whole army solemnly in their arms, marched thrice round the pile, before it was kindled; she, in the mean time, turned herself towards her husband's body, and did not discover, by shrieks or otherwise, that she was at all daunted by the crackling of the flames," &c.

ing herself on the pile, towards the dead body of her husband ; and in ending her life with the greatest heroism.

In Diodorus, it is said that the army of Eumenes, solemnly in arms, marched round the pile *thrice*, after the widow had ascended it : but in the instance seen by the Author, which was that of a rich private individual, the widow herself walked the same number of times round the pile ; and the fire was applied to it by her eldest son, who was about eight years old : and instead of being *placed* on the pile, she ascended it by her own exertions.

Calanus distributed the ornaments, with which the king had caused the pile to be decorated, to certain persons present ; and the *Nisæan* horse, provided also by the king (who supposed him to be too much weakened by sickness, to be able to walk), to Lysimachus, afterwards king of Thrace, who was one of his disciples and admirers. It has not come to our knowledge, that any *men* in India have voluntarily burnt themselves, like Calanus, in modern times.

We have now completed the examination of the Twenty Satrapies ; and from the above statement, compared with the map, an idea may be collected of the extent and division of the Persian empire under Darius Hystaspes. Cyrus had added to the central provinces of Persia, Media, Assyria, &c. those of Lydia, and Asia Minor, generally, on the west ; Bactriana, and others, on the east ; to which his son and successor, Cambyses, added Egypt ; and Darius himself, Ionia, a part of Thrace, and many of the islands of the Archipelago.

In the above division of the empire into Satrapies, there appears that sort of congruity, which furnishes an internal evidence of the truth of our Author's statement; at the same time that it proves a more extensive knowledge of the geography of Asia, than would have been imagined, without the aid of this investigation.

Herodotus remarks, (Thalia, 95.) that "if the Babylonian money (in the above statement) be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be 9886 talents of silver; and estimating the gold at 13 times the value of the silver <sup>s</sup>, there will be found 4680 Euboic talents more. So that the whole tribute paid to Darius was 14560 talents (Euboic).

The aggregate arising, on the detail, is 7740 Babylonish talents of silver, and 600 talents of gold. But as our Author does not give the proportion between the two talents, we are unable to compare

<sup>s</sup> The proportion of gold to silver, has, of course, varied at different times, according to the comparative plenty, or scarceness, of either. At present, 1799, they are as  $15\frac{3}{4}$  to 1. According to the authorities in Arbuthnot, they have been at the rate of 9 to 1. (See his book on Ancient Weights and Measures, Coins, &c. p. 43, *et seq.*)

One circumstance is worthy of notice—the plunder of western Europe by the Romans, in the time of Julius Cæsar, *sunk* the value of gold *one-tenth*; whereas, the plunder of the same countries, by the French, in these times, has *raised* the value of gold: so much more must it have been the custom to use vessels and trinkets of gold, anciently, than now: for the change in the proportions could only have been effected, by drawing into circulation, what was before applied to other uses.



the accounts. He says, however, Thalia, 89, that the Babylonian talent is equal to 70 Euboic *minæ*, and Arbuthnot informs us, that the Euboic talent was equal to 60 *minæ* only. This proportion would give a result different from our Author's; since 7740 Babylonian talents would, at the above rate, be equal to no more than 9030 Euboic, whilst Herodotus has 9880 : and adding to these, the produce of the tribute in gold, according to his own calculation, 4680, the aggregate is 13,710 Euboic talents. If the tribute in gold is taken at 600 talents, as in the text, the number of silver talents resulting will be 7800 ; making an aggregate of 16,830 ; which is 2270 more, as the former is 850 less, than his calculation. It is probable that the number 600, for the Indian tribute, is a mistake, and that he corrected it to 360 : so that the difference of the accounts is, in fact, 850 ; and which may only be owing to our having adopted a wrong proportion.

Taking the value of the Euboic talent at £193, 15*s.* according to Arbuthnot's evaluation, the sum arising on the above number of talents is about £2,821,000. If to this be added, according to the above statement, 700 talents for the value of the Egyptian grain ; and 1000 more for the contribution of the Arabians ; and if we are allowed to value the gratuities from the *Persians*, the Ethiopians, and the Colchians<sup>9</sup>, at 2000 more ; that is, 3700

<sup>9</sup> It has been remarked, that a part of the gratuity of the *Colchians*, and people of *Caucasus*, was 100 youths and 100 virgins ; Thalia, 97 ; so that the southern kingdoms have in all ages

talents in addition, the aggregate will be about £3,650,000 ; or somewhat more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of our money. It must strike every one who is conversant with numbers, that this sum is a small revenue for an empire, little inferior in extent to Europe. The provinces of *Babylonia*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, collectively, paid no more than 1000 talents, which might be equal to about £226,000 of our money : although at an earlier period, this Satrapy is said to have been equal to one-third of the whole empire. Clio, 192. As it cannot be supposed that the statements are generally wrong, although particular errors may be expected, it may be collected that the value of money was *incredibly* greater at that time, than at present. The rich and trading kingdom of Egypt and its dependencies, which sent 200 *Triremes* to the fleet of Xerxes, paid only £320,000, including the corn furnished, and which amounted to half of the sum. Thus, if we suppose a population of three millions <sup>1</sup>, it will be

drawn supplies of men and women from this quarter ; which furnished a hardier race of men, and more beautiful women. The *Mamlouks* (that is, the soldiery) of Egypt, are still drawn from the neighbourhood of Caucasus. It has appeared that slaves from the *north*, were sold in the markets of *ancient Tyre*. See above, page 327 ; and Ezekiel xxvii. 13. and 14.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, lib. i. c. 3. fixes the number of inhabitants in Egypt, in his time, at *three* millions ; Volney, at 2,300,000. Ancient Egypt is said, by Savary, to have supplied food for eight millions of people ; the surplus of which was exported to Italy, and other countries ; but he believes that at present the estimate of its produce is less than one half that quantity. We should conceive that it is yet much over-rated.

only about two shillings per head; and the people of Bengal, at this time, who are not heavily taxed, pay about seven shillings per annum<sup>2</sup>.

Herodotus observes, *Thalia*, 96, that in process of time, the islands (of the *Ægean* sea) also were taxed; as was that part of Europe which extends to *Thessaly*.

The mode in which the king deposited these riches in his treasury, was this; the gold and silver were melted and poured into earthen vessels; the vessel was then removed, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, such a piece was cut off as the occasion required<sup>3</sup>. The invention of coinage was either not known, or not practised, till that time in *Persia*; for when the *Daric*, a gold coin, was struck by *Darius Hystaspes*, it appears, according to the words of the historian, to have been regarded as a new thing<sup>4</sup>. For he says, *Melpom.* 166, "that *Darius* was desirous of leaving some monument of himself, which should exceed all the efforts of his predecessors;" and this was a coin of the very purest gold<sup>5</sup>. No doubt this idea was taken up, after he

<sup>2</sup> Early in the present century, the revenue of *India*, under *Aurengzebe*, was about thirty-two millions sterling, or *nine times* that of the empire of *Persia*, 2300 years ago.

<sup>3</sup> We have read that the sovereign of some Eastern kingdom, manages exactly in the same way, with the bullion in his treasury.

<sup>4</sup> The novelty might have lain in the superior fineness of the gold.

<sup>5</sup> *Aryandes*, prefect of *Egypt* under *Darius*, imprudently attempting to imitate his master, by issuing a coin of the purest *silver*, under the name of *Aryandic*, forfeited his life to magisterial jealousy. *Melpom.* 166.

had collected a great deal of gold by means of the Indian tribute; for he received only a very small quantity from Africa (Thalia, 97), although the rivers of that continent abounded with it, and the Carthaginians trafficked for it; Melpom. 196.

We shall close the account of the Satrapies, and our remarks on the armament of Xerxes, with some additional ones on the general truth of the statement of the latter, and on the final object of the expedition.

Brief as the descriptions in the text are, they contain a great variety of information; and furnish a number of proofs, of the general truth of our Author's history; for the descriptions of the dress and weapons of several of the remote nations, engaged in the expedition of Xerxes, agree with what appears amongst them at this day; which is a strong confirmation of it, notwithstanding that some attempts have been made to ridicule it by different writers. Herodotus had *conversed* with those who had *seen* the dress and weapons of these tribes, during the invasion; and therefore we cannot doubt that the Indians clothed in *cotton*, and with bows made of *reeds*, (*i. e.* of bamboos) were amongst them. Of course, that the *great king* had summoned his vassals and allies, generally, to this European war; a war intended not merely against *Greece*, but against *EUROPE* in general, as appears by the speeches of Xerxes, and other circumstances. For our Author says, Polym. 8, that after the subjection of Egypt, Xerxes "prepared to lead an army against Athens;" and, in a council assembled on the occasion, said, "after the reduction of Greece, I shall

over-run *all Europe*—a region not inferior to our own *in extent*, and far exceeding it in fertility.”—In 50, he also says, “Having effectually conquered *Europe*, we will return, &c. <sup>6</sup> :”—And, in 54, he “implored the sun to avert from the Persians, every calamity, till they should totally have vanquished *Europe* ; arriving at its *extremest limits*.”

It is said, Polym. 20, that after the reduction of Egypt, Xerxes employed *four whole years* in assembling the army, and in collecting provisions ; and that of all the military expeditions, the fame of which had come down to them, this was far the greatest ; much exceeding that which Darius undertook against the Scythians ; that of the sons of Atreus against Troy ; or that of the *Mysians* and *Teucrians*, before the Trojan war ; which nations, passing the Bosphorus into Europe, reduced Thrace and Thessaly <sup>7</sup>.

The evident cause of the assemblage of so many nations was, that the Europeans (as at the present

<sup>6</sup> There is in this speech of Xerxes, made at the passage of the Hellespont, an observation worthy of remark, as applying to the *then* state of Europe. He says, “having conquered Europe, we will return without experience of famine, or any other calamity ; we have with us abundance of provisions, and the nations amongst which we arrive, will supply us with *corn*, for they against whom we advance, are not shepherds, but husbandmen.”

<sup>7</sup> In perusing the intercepted French Correspondence from Egypt, one is struck with the justice of a remark of M. Boyer's, that, such was the magnitude of the armament of Buonaparte, against Egypt, that nothing comparable to it had passed the Mediterranean, since the time of the *Crusades*.

day) were deemed so far superior to *Asiatics*, as to require a *vastly* greater number of the latter, to oppose them. This is no less apparent in the history of the wars of Alexander ; and of the wars made by Europeans, in the East, in modern times. However, we do not by any means believe in the numbers described by the Greek historians ; because we cannot comprehend, from what is seen and known, how such a multitude could be provided with food, and their beasts with forage. But that the army of Xerxes was great, beyond all example, may be readily believed ; because it was collected from a vastly extended empire, every part of which, as well as its allies, furnished a proportion ; and if the aggregate had amounted to a *moderate* number only, it would have been nugatory to levy *that* number throughout the whole empire, and to collect troops from India and Ethiopia, to attack Greece, when the whole number required might have been collected in Lower Asia.

The rendezvous of the land army was said to be at *Criticalis*, in *Cappadocia*, Polym. 26 ; and that of the fleet, at *Elæos*, in the Thracian Chersonesus ; 21. The former is a position not known to us ; but, as it lay on the east side of the Halys, in Cappadocia, and in the road from Susa to Sardis, through *Celanæ* and *Colossæ*, which was the king's route, it may be supposed to have been near the site of the present *Erekli* (the *Archelais Colonia* of the Romans ; in which position, *no* town is remarked by Xenophon).

What renders this supposition very probable is, that at *Erekli*, not only the roads through the two

passes of Cilicia unite, but the great road from Armenia, and from the regions situated generally between the Euxine and Caspian seas, falls in there. There is also a fine river at this place, the principal branch of the Halys, which would render it yet more eligible, as a place of encampment for so vast a host.

From thence the route lay through Asia Minor, to Sardis and Troas, to the bridge over the Hellespont. It is said by Herodotus, Polym. 115, that "the *Thracians* hold the line of country, through which Xerxes led his army, in such extreme veneration, that to the present day they never disturb or cultivate it." He also remarks, that, "*Megara* was the most western part of Europe, to which the Persian army penetrated;" Calliope, 14; but they were in Phocis, and in the neighbourhood of Delphi, (*Urania*, 35, *et seq.*) which is much more to the west. Perhaps he was only speaking of their progress *from Attica*.

In the history of the Persian invasion, and its termination, so glorious to GREECE, Herodotus has given a lesson to all FREE STATES, that either *do* exist, or that *may* hereafter exist, in the world; that is, to dispute their independency, let the numbers of the enemy be what they may. He has shewn that the Greeks, although a large proportion of their country was in the hands of the enemy, were still formidable; and, in the end, prevailed over a foe, that out-numbered them more than *three to one*, in the decisive battle of *Platæa*; notwithstanding there were included in that vast majority, as many of their

renegade countrymen, as amounted to nearly half their own numbers<sup>8</sup>. It is true, that the invaders were PERSIANS, and the defenders GREEKS; but the event of the contest depended chiefly on the obstinate determination of the Greeks not to submit; a resolution which, accompanied by wisdom and discipline, must ever prevail.

The DUTCH acted like FREE MEN, when they determined to defend their *last ditch* against Louis XIV.; and, in the last resort, to embark for their foreign settlements; as the PHOCÆANS aforesaid did for Corsica; (see *Clio*, 165.) The ANGLO-AMERICANS have just displayed the same noble sentiments (worthy of their ancestors) in treating with equal contempt, the proffered, but hollow, friendship; and the threatened enmity, of France: France, whether monarchical, or republican, the common enemy of the peace and independence of nations<sup>9</sup>! Let us

<sup>8</sup> See *Calliope* 29, 30, 32. The confederated Grecian force was 110,000; that of the Persians 350,000, of whom 50,000 were Greek auxiliaries.

<sup>9</sup> In the prospect of future times, there is a subject for pride, in the breasts of Englishmen; which is, that so vast a portion of the globe will be peopled by their descendants. We allude, of course, to America and New Holland; the latter of which, alone, appears to have room enough for as many inhabitants as Europe at present contains. This is at least beyond the power of the French Directory to prevent; for the progress of population in America is too rapid to be opposed by human means, and will soon outgrow that of France, with all her conquests and fraternizations. America, fortunately for the world, has given the pledge of enmity to France; so that the danger of contamination of morals, by too intimate a connection, is removed.

The colony of New South Wales, too, will probably be able



persevere in determining not to be duped by France, by supposing that any peace with her is short of submission ; for such an act, on the part of the present government of that country, (wretched and *subdued* within, in the midst of *victory* without) could only be done to gain time, and to lull us into security, in order finally to crush us with the greater ease.

The present state of France cannot last, unless the rest of Europe become accomplices with her, in their own destruction. We can only patiently wait the event ; and although poverty may come on, ere a change happens, yet when it does happen, we shall at least start on equal terms with them in point of capital (for the successes of France do not make her rich), and infinitely superior, in point of reputation ; which is not to be undervalued, in the calculation of national strength. Submission would lower our reputation, even more than national bankruptcy.

to take care of itself, before the French have opportunity, or leisure, to molest it. Bad as the habits of many of its settlers have been, we have more hopes of their amendment, as matters go, than if they were contaminated by French principles ; and as to their posterity, it will make no difference, if the mother country provide, as she is bound to do, for the instruction of the rising generation. This generation is said to be very numerous ; and it is pretty obvious, that, on the care of their religion and morals, the character of THE FUTURE NATION will depend.

It ought perhaps to afford a triumph to literary men, that the English language had received its highest degree of improvement, before the epoch of our great colonizations. He therefore who writes in English, and whose works descend to posterity, will probably have the greatest number of readers ; as was, perhaps the case heretofore, of him who wrote in French.

Besides, the very means used to prevent the evil, would produce it; for poverty will most assuredly follow submission; and that, without any hope of improvement, by a change of circumstances: and it is surely better to be poor WITH hope than WITHOUT it. No sensible man can build his hopes on the moderation, or good faith of the enemy; and therefore a cry for PEACE, under the present existing circumstances, can only be calculated to mislead, or to divide the community.

If we fear the diminution of our property or income, when justly apportioned, we must pay the forfeit of that fear; that is, our most excellent and consolatory religion, our liberty, our comforts; in a word, all that we have been contending for, during so many generations, either with domestic tyrants, or foreign invaders. Hitherto, the danger from the latter has been *distant*; but it is now at the very threshold. We are as able to contend as ever; perhaps better, from the active military spirit that has kept pace with the danger, and which must gradually make us an armed nation; that is, such a proportion of the people as have leisure to qualify themselves for its defence: and, can leisure be more worthily employed? Surely, if wisdom, and an attention to rational economy, do not forsake us (and the want of either must sink the most rich and powerful country in the world), we can oppose the enemy on our own ground, with superior numbers, and with superior effect; since the country will be every where hostile to him. Besides, with FREEMEN, the MIND goes more towards the defence of what is dear

to them, than it possibly can, on the other side, towards depriving them of it.

If the enemy is bent on our destruction, what have we to do, but to dispute the point, even to extermination? What worse can befall us, by contesting it, than by submitting? Take the examples of *conquest*, of *submission*, and of *fraternization*, severally; and then let any one, if he can, point out the distinction between the treatment that the French government has shewn to the different people who have fallen under its power, by those different modes! We have therefore nothing to hope, but from our own exertions, under the favour of Heaven: and let us trust, that the contest will terminate gloriously, and perpetuate the system of liberty transmitted to us by our ancestors; and thus hold out another bright example to succeeding times. The hatred of Europe is rising against France, (or rather against its government; for we hope that this distinction may be made in favour of a great proportion of the people, who may not be made accomplices in its guilt); that hatred must increase, and become general; and all Frenchmen who leave their own country on schemes of hostility, must, in the end, be hunted down as enemies to the peace and comfort of mankind. We will hope that the time is not far distant<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The above was written previous to the campaign of 1799.

## SECTION XIII.

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE REPORT OF THE GEOGRAPHY ;  
AND OF THE DISTANCES, ON THE ROYAL ROAD, BE-  
TWEEN IONIA AND SUSA ; BY ARISTAGORAS, PRINCE  
OF MILETUS.

*Intrigues of Aristagoras, Prince of Miletus, to engage the Lacedæmonians in Hostilities with the King of Persia—Firmness of Cleomenes ; and wise saying of his daughter Gorgo—the Prince of Miletus explains his ideas by means of a map engraven on copper—Sketch of the geography between Ionia and Susa—Countries of Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Matiene, Cissia—Intervening deep rivers—Inaccuracies in the report, from the loose manner in which the ancients treated geographical subjects—Comparison of the Stathmus, with the ordinary March of an army ; and of the ancient Parasanga with the modern Farsang—the Parasanga of Herodotus agrees with the Farsang, when referred to the same ground ; but exceeds the popular estimation of 30 Stades—that of Xenophon falls below it—Royal Road in Persia ; its Stathmi and Caravanserais.*

THERE occurs in Herodotus a narration of a very interesting and curious conversation between ARISTAGORAS, prince of Miletus<sup>1</sup>, and CLEOMENES, king

<sup>1</sup> See the history of Aristagoras, his intrigues, and fall, in Terpsichore, 28, *et. seq.* Of Miletus, Herodotus says, "It might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity."

of Sparta, on occasion of soliciting the assistance of the Spartans, against Darius Hystaspes. This conversation produced a report of the distance by the *Royal Road* leading from Sardis to Susa, together with a short description of the countries through which it lay. The application, however, proved fruitless; notwithstanding that it was accompanied with an offer of a considerable sum of money, which the virtue of the Spartan prince rejected with disdain<sup>2</sup>.

We propose to examine this description, both with respect to the geography of the country, and the

<sup>2</sup> This transaction gave rise to one of the most interesting anecdotes in our Author's work. The king having, at a former interview, denied the request of the Prince of Miletus, and warned him to depart from Sparta, was assailed in the manner thus described :

Aristagoras taking a branch of olive in his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes, entering which, as a suppliant, he requested an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that GORGO, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents, if he would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "FATHER, UNLESS YOU WITHDRAW, THE STRANGER WILL CORRUPT YOU." The prince was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.—Terp. 51.

This illustrious princess was afterwards the wife of the immortal LEONIDAS, who perished in the defence of his country at *Thermopylæ*. She was as remarkable for her virtue, as for the excellence of her understanding.

distribution of the distances. The geography itself is very briefly related, but may be taken as a fair specimen of the geographical division of that part of Asia, amongst the Greeks, previous to the improvement which it received, by the expeditions of Xenophon and Alexander.

With respect to the distance at large, it is very perfect, but the detail is in some places incomplete; which is much to be regretted; for had it been otherwise, much advantage might have accrued to ancient geography, by the comparisons that might have been made, between the different intervals given, and the actual geography. Still, however, some advantage may be gained by making use of the materials, as they are, to ascertain the length of the *stathmus*, or *stage*; or rather, as we conceive, that of the *marches* of the Persian armies; for such they will unquestionably turn out to be.

The mode in which Aristagoras communicated his ideas, will strike the historian, the geographer, and the antiquarian, as being very curious. It was by means of a MAP engraven on a tablet of brass, or copper; the first of the kind, we believe, that is mentioned in history: but which practice may nevertheless have been in use, amongst the statesmen, and men of science of those days<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Many of our readers must have heard of the copper plate, which had a copy of a grant of land engraven on it in *Sanscrit*; and bearing date about the time of the birth of our Saviour; found at Monghir in Bengal, some years ago. It was translated into English by my friend Mr. Wilkins. The plate is now in England.

Herodotus says, Terpsichore, 49, that Aristagoras appeared before the king of Sparta, "with a tablet of brass in his hand, upon which was inscribed *every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers* <sup>4</sup>:" and to this he pointed, as he spoke of the several countries between the Iōnian sea and Susa.

"Next to the IōNIANS, (says Aristagoras) are the LYDIANS, who possess a fertile territory, and a profusion of silver. Contiguous to these, on the east, are the PHRYGIANS, a people supposed, beyond all others, to enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle, and of the produce of the earth. The river Halys forms their boundary: beyond which are the CAPADOCIANS, whom the Greeks call SYRIANS. Then follow the CILICIANS, who possess the scattered islands of our sea, in the vicinity of CYPRUS. The ARMEANIANS border on the CILICIANS; being separated by the *Euphrates*, which is only passable in vessels. The Armenians, who have also plenty of cattle, have for their neighbours, the MATIENI, who inhabit the region contiguous to CISSIA; in which district, and not far from the river *Choaspes*, is SUSa, where the PERSIAN MONARCH occasionally resides; and where his treasures are deposited. Make yourselves masters of this city, and you may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself."

From IōNIA to CILICIA, the division of country is much the same as we find amongst the ancients in general. But CILICIA, by being extended to the

<sup>4</sup> What a feast for an antiquary, could it be produced!

*Euphrates*, is made to include the northern part of *Syria*; that is, the province of *Cyrhestica*. The *Chellians* mentioned in *Judith*, chapter ii. ver. 21, appear to be the people of the district which includes the town of *Killis*, not far from *Aleppo*; whence it may be suspected that the *Cilicia* of *Herodotus* included this province. (See above, page 320.)

ARMENIA has an unusual extent given it; for it is extended not only through the northern part of *Mesopotamia*, but through *Assyria* likewise. This we collect more particularly, from the description of the courses of the *four* deep rivers, mentioned in this narrative, which are all said to flow *through* *Armenia*, within the space of  $56\frac{1}{2}$  *parasangas*; and to intersect the road between *Cilicia* and *Susa*. It will be necessary to speak somewhat in detail, concerning these rivers, as the extent given to *Armenia* depends on their courses and positions.

The *first* river is said to be the *TIGRIS* itself, (*Terp.* 52.) By the same name also, the *second* and *third* are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source; the one rising in *Armenia*, the other amongst the *Matiene*. These circumstances serve to point out the two latter very clearly. The *second* is the *greater Zab*; the *Zabatus* of *Xenophon*: and the *third* is the *lesser Zab*; which joins the *Tigris* near the city of *Senn*; the *Cenæ* of *Xenophon*. The *fourth* is said to be the *Gyndes*, which was formerly divided by *Cyrus*; and which (our Author says), also rises in the mountains of *Matiene*, and runs through the country of the *Darneans*, in its



way to join the Tigris. Clio, 189. This river is unquestionably intended for the *Diala* of modern geography, which has its source in the same country with the lesser *Zab*, (that is, *Matiene*); but it neither flows through the country of the *Darneans* (*Derna*), nor does it intersect the road leading from *Susa* to *Babylon*. Therefore, this part of the description belongs to the river of *Mendeli*, which flows through the country of *Derna*, and does really intersect the road just mentioned. (See above, page 266.) It would appear, then, that *Herodotus* (or *Aristagoras*) had confounded these two rivers together. The *Diala* is doubtless the *fourth* river in this description; for it is a deep and large stream; and also answers to the distance from the crossing place of the *Tigris* (probably *Nineveh*), which is given at  $56\frac{1}{2}$  parasangas: but the *Mendeli* river should be the river divided by *Cyrus*; for, according to the ideas expressed in page 267, that river should have ordinarily been fordable, as it is probable the *Mendeli* is; but the *Diala* certainly not; and it also lies wide of the road from *Susa* to *Babylon*. No river is noticed between the *Gyndes* and that of *Susa*: and it is to be understood that *Aristagoras* only meant to note the *deep* rivers; or those which particularly affected military operations, in the march from *Ionia* to *Susa*. We now return to the subject of *Armenia*.

The term *MESOPOTAMIA*, as applied to the tract between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, was not in use amongst the *Greeks*, till after the *Macedonian* conquest (we believe); the northern part of it, beyond mount *Masius*, being reckoned a part of *Arme-*

nia<sup>5</sup>, and the southern parts to SYRIA and ARABIA. But our Author's extension of Armenia to the Diala river, is quite incorrect, and even contradictory: as he knew the position of Assyria, and reckons Babylonia a part of it. Such is the vague way in which many of the ancients expressed their geographical ideas; although they appear, in many instances, to have known better. Xenophon, who traversed Assyria, calls it MEDIA, throughout.

MATIENE is reckoned to commence at the FOURTH river (called the *Gyndes*, but meant for the *Diala*), and to extend to Cissia, or Susiana. Therefore, by Matiene, is intended in this place, the country between *Assyria* and *Susiana*: and as that was known in the times of Xenophon and Alexander, by the name of SITTACENE, (a province of Babylonia,) this should be the true reading, and not Matiene, which Herodotus himself places between *Media Major* and Armenia: or, more properly speaking, it was a province of Media itself<sup>6</sup>. Matiene could only lie *above* the mountains of *Zagros*; but the royal road to Susa lay *below* them, through Assyria and Babylonia. Aristagoras must have had a very imperfect idea of the relative positions of the countries, between Susiana and Armenia, since he places Matiene alone between them, and omits Media altogether. But notwithstanding these inaccuracies, it is curious to

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Ives has much the same idea, where he speaks of the *Armenian* mountains; meaning mount *Masius*.

<sup>6</sup> For he rightly places the sources of the *lesser Zab*, and the *Diala*, in Matiene, or on its borders. For the particular position of this province, see page 365.

trace the geographical ideas of the people of that time, and even the people of rank and command, who meditated expeditions into Asia, when the detail of its geography formed a subject of speculation, like that of Africa at present; or of North America, early in the present century.

The next subject to be considered, is that of the distances on the royal road, between Sardis and Susa.

In the detail of these distances, the omissions amount to about one-third of the whole; and what is worse, one cannot judge between what *particular points* the omissions occur; but they are *chiefly* between *Cilicia* and *Susa*; and more particularly between the Euphrates and Tigris, in the line between Zeugma and Nineveh. All that can be done, therefore, is to compare the aggregate sum of the distance given, with the distance on our construction, in order to obtain a general scale for the *parasanga* and *stathmus*; and afterwards to examine how far the several intermediate numbers of *parasangas* and *stathmi*, given in the detail, agree to those scales respectively. If they coincide, we may infer a degree of general exactness in the account; and we shall then be enabled to determine what was meant by the *STATHMUS*; which will doubtless turn out to be the ordinary march of an army.

Herodotus, after going into the detail of the distances, says, Terp. 52. "it appears that from *Sardis* to *Susa* there are 111 stathmi, or stations;" however, the detail (owing, we must suppose, to an accident having happened to the original MS.) con-

tains no more than 81 : and of these, four have no number of parasangas to them, like the rest : so that we have no more than 77 to calculate on. Here is the account :

	Stathmi.	Parasangas.
In Lydia and Phrygia . . . .	20	$90\frac{1}{2}$
Cappadocia . . . . .	28	104
Cilicia . . . . .	3	$15\frac{1}{2}$
Armenia . . . . .	15	$56\frac{1}{2}$
Matiene . . . . .	4	
Cissia . . . . .	11	$42\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
	81	309
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>

He says, moreover, (Terpsichore 53.) that if the measurement of the royal road, by parasangas, be accurate, and a parasanga be equal to 30 stadia, as it really is (says he), there are 450 parasangas, equal to 13,500 stadia, between Sardis and the royal residence of Memnon (*Susa* <sup>7</sup>.)

Now, if 450, the number of parasangas in the aggregate, be divided by 111, the number of *stathmi*, we shall have 4,054 parasangas for each *stathmus*. And, on the other hand, if we take the detail as far as it goes, 309 parasangas, and divide it by 77 stathmi, it gives a proportion of 4,013 for each of the stathmi in detail : a coincidence, which shews that the part of the detail, which has escaped the ravages of time, has suffered no material corruption.

<sup>7</sup> And between Sardis and Ephesus, 540 more : in all 14,040. Terp. 54.

On our construction, there is found an aggregate of about 1120 G. miles, between *Sardis* and *Susa*, taken through the points of *Issus* and *Mosul*; which, divided by 450, the number of parasangas, gives 2,489 G. miles for each parasanga; or nearly two miles and a half. Hence it appears, that the 4,054 parasangas, on the aggregate, gives 10,09 G. miles for each *stathmus*; and the 4013, on the detail, 9,988; being about  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a mile different from each other. Or, one may be taken at  $10\frac{1}{10}$ , the other at 10. And having brought the matter to this satisfactory issue, there can hardly be a doubt, but that, by the *stathmus*, an ordinary day's march of an army was meant; since, when a due allowance is made for the exceeding great length of the lines of distance, on which it is calculated, it will be found to agree almost exactly with the scale of the *mean* march, deduced from a great variety of instances, but calculated on lines of distance of a moderate length; that is, of about 150 G. miles: but the lines between *Sardis* and *Susa*, are of 250 to 500 such miles, or thereabouts; and may require an addition of  $\frac{1}{25}$  part to the proportion of *road distance*, calculated on the short lines. And this 25th part being equal to ,404, will make the *stathmus* 10,494, or say  $10\frac{1}{2}$  G. miles: whilst the mean march is 10,6; or in road distance somewhat more than 14 British miles; allowing the inflexions to be  $\frac{1}{8}$  over and above the direct distance, on lines of about 150 miles.

But although there is so remarkable a coincidence between the *march* and the *stathmus*, it will be found that there is a great disproportion between

the parasanga of Herodotus, and that of Xenophon, who lived at no great distance of time from each other: and it may be added, that whichever of the two is right, that of Herodotus agrees best with the modern *farsang* in Persia. Both of these authors calculate the parasanga at 30 stadia, as well as the ordinary march at 150 stadia: yet the parasanga of Xenophon, checked by the Roman Itineraries in *Cilicia*, &c. (see pages 28, 29,) turns out to be three Roman miles, equal to 2,142 G. miles only, in *direct distance*, whilst that of Herodotus is no less than 2,489, and is calculated on longer lines of distance. Now, as the 150 stadia, allowed by *both*, agree very nearly to a *mean* march, this part of the subject appears to be clear; and the 111 stathmi of Herodotus agreeing so nearly to marches also, render it yet more certain: so that the difficulty respecting the standard of the *stade*, as well as of the *stathmus*, seems to be done away. The difficulty that remains, is the disparity in the parasangs of the two authors: but if it be admitted that any probability exists of the modern *farsang* being the representative of the ancient *parasanga*, the decision must be directly in favour of Herodotus, as may be seen by a reference to the note in page 23, which shews that 593 modern farsangs give a proportion of 2,63, whilst that of Herodotus is 2,489; or if we select the instances that apply more closely, 2,417 to 2,489.

But it is as certain that  $33\frac{1}{2}$  stades are required to form a parasanga of this standard, when reduced to road distance, although Herodotus himself, in common with the rest of the Greeks, allowed no more

than 30. And this being the case, it appears almost certain that Xenophon did not reckon 30 stades to a parasanga, on the ground of a coincidence between these portions of distance, but because it had been the custom amongst the Greeks so to do. Parasangas, perhaps, with him, were merely nominal; the stade was the *standard* in his mind, as being in constant use. *Etiquette* might render it necessary to turn the stades into parasangas, in a journal kept in the camp of the Persians. Or there might be some reason that we are not acquainted with.

Again, it might be a fact known to Herodotus, and to the Greeks in general, that the distance from *Sardis* to *Susa* was 450 parasangas; and these he might turn into stades, in order to render it more intelligible to his countrymen, without knowing critically, what number of stades the Persian measure might contain; but taking it, according to the popular opinion, at 30 stades. This appears decisive of the mode followed by Herodotus. If we take his parasangas on the footing of 30 stades only, a march of 150 of these would be equal to 17 *road* miles nearly; exceeding the ordinary march, by a proportion that goes beyond credibility; since the standard of the mean march of an army may be approximated, and is little more than 14 miles.

The Greeks, in making the comparison between the stade and the parasanga, may have reckoned vaguely; as European travellers of different nations have compared their own itinerary measures, with those of Persia, India, and Turkey; often, indeed,

with very little judgment, or accuracy. It may be said, that when the component parts are small, there is less danger of error; but even then, there is a hazard of running into an *even* number; as we suspect has been done in the application of the Grecian stade to the Persian parasanga.

These variations, however, have no effect on the determination of the length of the *STATHMUS*, which rests on the firmer foundation of actual geography; and may be regarded as the ordinary march of an army, attended by its equipage, &c. Still, however, there is something unexplained, respecting these stations. Herodotus says, "the king (of Persia) has various *stathmi*, or mansions, with excellent *inns*: these are all splendid and beautiful,"—he adds, "the whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure." Terp. 52. These *inns* we must consider as being much the same kind of establishment, as the caravanserais of modern Persia; many of which, on the public roads, (as may be seen by the books of travels) are *grand*, *commodious*, and *extensive*<sup>8</sup>. But with respect to the accommodation of armies, they must have been out of the question; although they might have accommodated detachments, or officers. Very possibly they might have been calculated to receive the monarch and his retinue, when the army was put in motion: and that they had a reference to war, as well as to civil purposes, may be collected from the space between them; which is calculated for the day's

<sup>8</sup> See Chardin, Olearius, Le Brun, &c.



march of an army, but is too short for the journies of *travellers* of any description; the slowest of whom, namely, those who travel in caravans, far outstrip an army.

In the above calculation of the *stathmus*, we have regarded *Sus* as the ancient *Susa*; whilst *Tostar* has been taken for it, by others<sup>9</sup>. Had the distance been taken to *Tostar*, instead of *Sus*, an addition of forty-four G. miles to the 1120 must have taken place; in which case, the aggregate, 1164, would give a mean rate of 10,486; approaching, in the first instance, very closely to our mean march, 10,6; but with the addition of  $\frac{1}{25}$  part, would go beyond it; as it must have appeared, that the grounds on which we determined the length of *that* march, do not apply to the present case, by reason of the exceeding great and unusual length of the lines of distance, on which the rate is proportioned.

<sup>9</sup> See above, page 268.



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## SECTION XIV.

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### CONCERNING THE SITE AND REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF BABYLON.

*The founder of BABYLON, unknown in history—Semiramis only adorned and improved it—The report of the enormous extent of its Walls, exaggerated, by the false scale of the stade : and the extent of the City itself, by the error of supposing the whole area to be covered with buildings—Extent of both, checked by a reference to the true standard of the stade ; and to the notices found in ancient authors—the area within the walls cannot be reduced lower than to seventy-two square British miles ; of which two-thirds may have been built on, or otherwise occupied—Nineveh, according to some authors, larger than Babylon—Some of the causes, that limit the extent, and population of cities—The geographical position of Babylon ascertained by ancient and modern authorities, to be at the city of Hillah, on the Euphrates—general description of the ground-plan, and distribution of the public structures—Height and thickness of the walls—Tunnel made by Semiramis under the bed of the Euphrates—Respective positions of the temple of Belus, and the Royal Palace—City gates—Description of the Tower of Belus, in the eastern division—recognized by Della Valle and Beauchamp, in a vast heap of ruins, at a few miles distant from Hillah—Foundations of the city walls still dug up, and carried to other places—Bitumen Fountain in Babylon—Course of the Euphrates through that City—Its breadth conformable to the report of Strabo—grand embankments—Palace of Nabuchodonosor, in the western division of Babylon*

—*Ordinary disposition of the materials of ancient cities—Nature and dimensions of the two sorts of bricks used in Babylon—Remarks on the two kinds of cement; bitumen and clay: the latter illustrated by the ordinary mode of building in Bengal—Cutcha and Pucka, two modes of building, in India, explained—Remarks on the use of reeds, or osiers, in the cements, in the Babylonish structures—Ruin named Aggarkuf; vulgarly called the Tower of Babel—Decline and ruin of Babylon—The palace of Chosroes in Ctesiphon; and the cities of Bagdad, Hillah, &c. built of the bricks of Babylon—general idea of the palace of Chosroes; or Tauk Kesra—Difficulty respecting a passage in Herodotus, stating that the walls of Babylon had been destroyed by Darius Hystaspes—Site and Antiquities of BABYLON, accessible: and worthy of research.*

It is not intended to institute an inquiry into the antiquity of the foundation of BABYLON, or the name of its founder. It is remarkable enough, that Herodotus should not have given some intimation of this kind: but he only tells us, that SEMIRAMIS and NITOCRIS, two of its queens, strengthened its fortifications, and guarded it against inundations; as well as improved and adorned it: leaving entirely open, the two questions above mentioned. May we not conclude from this, that its antiquity was very great; and that it ascended so high, as that Herodotus could not satisfy himself concerning it? At the same time, the improvements that took place, in the city, in the reign of Semiramis, might occasion the original foundation to be ascribed to her; the like having happened in the history of other cities.

Herodotus informs us, that Babylon became the capital of Assyria *after* the destruction of Nineveh. Clio, 178. Perhaps then, we ought to date the

foundations of those works, which appear so stupendous in history, from that period only: for wonderful as these works appear, even when ascribed to the *capital* of an *empire*, the wonder increases when ascribed to the capital of a *province* only<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrians (says Herodotus, *Clio*, c. 178, *et seq.*) are masters of many capital towns; but their place of greatest strength and fame is BABYLON, where, after the destruction of NINEVEH, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square: each side by every approach is, in length, one hundred and twenty stadia; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty stadia. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceeds whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits high, and fifty wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and, when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner; on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch towers of one story, leaving a space betwixt them, through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were a hundred massy gates of brass, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. Within an eight days' journey from Babylon is a city called *Is*; near which flows a river of the same name, which empties itself into the Euphrates. With the current of this river, particles of bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the means of which the walls were constructed.

The great river Euphrates divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet, and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins,

If then, with the ancient Authors generally, we allow Semiramis to have been the foundress of that Babylon, described by Herodotus, we cannot fix the date of the improved foundation, beyond the eighth century before the Christian era: so that the duration of this city, in its improved form, was less than 800 years, reckoning to the time of Pliny.

Public belief has been staggered by the enormous dimensions allowed to Babylon by the different authors of ancient times, Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius; because that, even if the most confined of those measures, reported by the followers of Alexander, (who viewed it at their fullest leisure,) be adopted, and the stade taken at the moderate standard, resulting from our inquiries, in Section II. they will give an area of seventy-two square miles; and those given by Strabo, at eighty: either of which are enormous: for after every allowance is made for the different modes of building cities, in Europe and in Asia, the idea of covering seventy-two contiguous square miles with

and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breast-work, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.

The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus occupies the other, whose huge gates of brass may still be seen.

buildings, although interspersed with gardens and reservoirs, as in India and Persia, goes far beyond our ideas, even had Babylon been the capital of a large empire, and which had the command of a *marine*, as well as a *river*, navigation. But, according to history, Babylon, when founded, although possibly the capital of a large empire, yet could command no supplies by sea: nor were its inland navigations commodious; since the embarkations that descended from the upper parts of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, could not re-ascend: a disadvantage hardly to be compensated, since the price of provisions and necessaries, must thereby have been raised to an inconvenient rate. Moreover, it must be recollected, that the country on two sides of Babylon, and those the most conveniently situated for the navigation of the Euphrates and Tigris, is composed of the most barren deserts in the world; namely, those of Arabia and Sinjar.

We therefore conceive that, with respect to the extent of the *buildings* and population of Babylon, we ought not to receive the above measure as a scale; from the great improbability of *so vast a contiguous space* having ever been built on: but that the wall might have been continued to the extent given, does not appear so improbable; for we cannot suppose that so many of the ancient writers could have been misled concerning this point. The Macedonians and others had viewed it; and both Strabo and Diodorus appear to have written from documents furnished by them; and might also have conversed with persons who had *seen* Babylon: and



they all speak of it, as of a city, whose circuit was of a wonderful extent; therefore we ought to be prepared for something very much out of the common way. But although we may extend our belief to the vastness of the *enceinte*, it does not follow that we are to believe that eighty, or even seventy-two square miles, contiguous to each other, were covered with buildings. M. D'Anville, by reducing the stade to fifty-one toises, or about three hundred and thirty English feet, has indeed reduced the area of Babylon to a standard<sup>2</sup> which may not be deemed improbable: but notwithstanding the acknowledged superiority of his judgment, on the subject of itinerary measures, we cannot subscribe to his opinion, in this matter; because it does not appear, on a reference to the ancients, that any stade of that standard was in use; or even known. It will here be necessary to refer the reader to the second Section of this work, in which the subject of the stade is fully considered; and from whence it appears, on a *mean* of *all* the different authorities, to have been regarded by the Greeks as a measure of one hundred paces, or *about* five hundred English feet. But taken critically, and in reference to the scale of an ordinary march of an army, considered as equal to one

<sup>2</sup> M. D'Anville reduces the area of Babylon to about thirty-six British miles, *i. e.* to a square of six miles on each side (4,900 toises). And according to this proportion, he states the area of Babylon to be to that of Paris, as five to two. (Euph. and Tig. p. 114.) This allows to Paris, an area of about twelve two-fifths British miles; and we allow for that of London and its environs, about fifteen and a half.

hundred and fifty stades, it should be four hundred and ninety-three feet; and to the march of Xenophon (of one hundred and fifty stades also), compared with the measure of the ground in the Roman Itinerary, four hundred and eighty-nine. (See particularly, pages 43 and 44 of this work.) The mean of these two results, four hundred and ninety-one, appearing to us to be founded on that kind of practical authority, that should be looked for; and differing so little from the general result of *all* the authorities, may, in our conception, be with propriety applied to the measure of Babylon.

The different reports of the extent of the walls of Babylon, are given as follows :

By Herodotus, at 120 stadia, each side, or 480 in circumference.

By Pliny and Solinus, at 60 Roman miles; which, at 8 stades to a mile, agrees with Herodotus.

By Strabo, at 385 stadia: and

By Diodorus, from *Ctesias*, 360: but from *Clitarchus*, who accompanied Alexander, 365. And lastly, by Curtius, at 368.

It appears highly probable that 360, or 365, was the true statement of the circumference; since one of these numbers was reported by Ctesias, the other (which differs so little) by Clitarchus; both of them eye-witnesses of the fact, concerning which they wrote: and moreover, although Strabo differs from them by about 5 stadia, in the length of each side, yet it clearly appears, that in deciding on the evidence, he gave up the statement of Herodotus. It is, indeed, not improbable, that his original text

gave the same as Clitarchus ; and that it has been corrupted from 365 to 385. No doubt he formed his opinion on the reports of the followers of Alexander ; very many of whom had written histories or journals of his expedition. Diodorus, in his statement of the length of the *embankment* of the Euphrates, through the city of Babylon, says, that it was 100 stadia in length ; which, allowing  $91\frac{1}{4}$  stadia for the square of the city, leaves about 2000 feet *beyond* it, each way ; or allowing, with Strabo,  $96\frac{1}{4}$  stades, leaves 800 or 900 feet. Either of these statements, of course, appears a more probable one, than that of Herodotus. And, it may be added, that although the reason given by Clitarchus, and others, for fixing the number at 365, must be regarded as a tale ; yet the very act of connecting the number, with that of the days contained in the year, seems to prove that it approached nearly to it <sup>3</sup>.

There does not, therefore, appear to be any way of getting rid of the fact, respecting the vastness of the space, inclosed by the wall : nor can it, in our idea, be reduced to less than a square of about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  British miles ; giving an area of 72 square miles ; which yet falls short of the calculation, on the scale of Strabo, by 8 square miles. Nor do we adopt the lesser number, merely because the general statement appears overcharged, but because that it is conform-

<sup>3</sup> Thus the common idea respecting the cathedral of Salisbury, that the doors and chapels equal the months ; the windows, the days of the year, &c. ; is understood to be *generally* true : and could hardly have arisen from any other circumstance, than common observation of the fact itself.

able to the highest standard that we have been enabled to verify<sup>4</sup>.

But that even 72 contiguous square miles should have been, in any degree, covered with buildings, is, on every account, too improbable for belief. In support of this opinion, we shall adduce the following facts, which seem to contain more argument than any reasoning; premising that we do not by any means aim at precision, in any of the numbers set forth.

The inhabitants of London, taken at a *ninth* part of the whole population of South Britain (say about 7,000,000, or for London 800,000), require, for their supply of provisions and necessaries, a proportion of land, equal to about 6,600 square British miles; on a supposition that they were confined to the consumption of its produce, alone, and that it was taken as it generally runs throughout the kingdom.

If there be allowed to Babylon an area of 72 miles, we conceive that it would then bear a proportion to the space which the buildings of London occupy, taking in all its suburbs and members, whether *contiguous*, or *otherwise*; and allowing them

<sup>4</sup> Taking the circumference of Babylon at 365 stadia, and these at 491 feet; each side of the square (which is equal to 91½ stades) will be 8,485 British miles; or nearly 8½. This gives an area of 72 miles and an inconsiderable fraction. If the same number of stades be taken at 500 feet each, the area will be 74,8. And finally, the 385 stadia of Strabo, at 491 feet, about 80. The 480 stades of Herodotus would give about 126 square miles, or 8 times the area of London!

an area of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  British miles ; as 9 is to 2, nearly. But as most of the large Asiatic cities that we have seen, or heard of, scarcely contain, within the same space, half the number of inhabitants that European cities do, we must reckon the proportion of population, that Babylon would have contained, to that of London, as 9 to 4. In this case, 15,000 square miles of such land as the common run of that in England, would have been required for the support of the people of Babylon, provided it had been *filled up* with buildings, after the Asiatic manner, and that the state of society had been like that amongst us. But as the simple manner of living amongst the lower classes of people in Asia, requires a less quantity of land to support it, than the style of living of the same classes in England, a considerable deduction may be made ; and instead of 15,000 square miles, we may, perhaps, substitute 12,000. Now, it will appear, that this reduced sum of square miles, equals, within  $\frac{1}{12}$  part, the whole area of Lower Mesopotamia ; and even the whole tract properly denominated *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, including all the arable and pasture land, from whence Babylon could conveniently have been supplied, by the inland navigations, was little more than double the above aggregate, taken at 13,000 square miles. And though it be true, that the quality of the Babylonish lands, in most places, was superior in fertility, to those of England ; yet, on the other hand, a prodigious deduction must be made for the marshes and lakes of Lower Mesopotamia and Chaldea. It then becomes a question,

whether matters can be so constituted, as that nearly the half of the products of a considerably extensive country, can be transported to *any one point* within it ; or whether, if that were practicable, the inhabitants of that spot could afford to purchase them, at a price so greatly enhanced, as the circumstances of the case must necessarily render them ?

The reader should be aware, that we have here stated every particular, at the lowest ; for it may be observed, that if Babylon contained only the lowest number of square miles set forth in our statement, that is, 72 ; and had been built and inhabited in the manner of London, the *whole* country of Babylonia, Chaldea, &c. equal to about the half of *South Britain*, would not have been equal to the supply of its inhabitants ; which would have amounted to little less than four millions.

Probably then, we ought to conclude that the founder of Babylon extended, either through ostentation or ignorance, the walls of this city, so as to include an area that could never be filled up with habitations ; for it is not so much the extent of the walls, as the difficulty of collecting, in the first instance, and of supplying, in the second, the wants of so great a population, as the space must necessarily have contained, that staggers our belief. A despotic prince, who commanded the labours of his subjects in so complete a degree as to be enabled to rear such vast, and such useless piles, as the Egyptian Pyramids, could perhaps, with equal ease, have extended a wall of brick round a space equal to the

largest given dimensions of Babylon : but to collect together a number of people sufficient to occupy it, with any degree of convenience to themselves, and of advantage to the public at large, might be beyond the power either of a king of Egypt, or of Babylon. Therefore this famous city in all probability occupied a part, only, of the vast space inclosed by the wall. It is a question that no one can positively answer, " what proportion of the space was occupied ? " but from certain circumstances that we shall presently mention, it is possible that nearly two-thirds of it might have been occupied, in the mode in which the large cities of Asia are built ; that is, in the style of some of those of India, which we have ourselves seen ; they having gardens, reservoirs of water, and large open places within them. Moreover, the houses of the common people consist of one floor only ; so that of course, fewer people can be accommodated in the same compass of ground, in an Indian, than in an European city. This accounts at once for the enormous dimensions of some of the Asiatic cities <sup>5</sup> : and perhaps we cannot allow much

<sup>5</sup> The Ayin Acbaree states, that the wall of Mahmoodabad, in Guzerat, was a *square* of *seven cosses*, which are equal to about 13 miles. We know no particulars concerning it, farther than that it was founded by Mahmood, the first Mahomedan conqueror of India.

Taking the extent of Gour (the ancient capital of Bengal) at the most reasonable calculation, it was not less than 15 miles in length, extending along the old bank of the Ganges, and from two to three in breadth. See the Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, page 51. See also the general idea of Asiatic cities, in the same Memoir, page 58.

less than double the space to accommodate the same number of Asiatics, that Europeans would require.

Herodotus indeed says, that Babylon “*abounded* in houses from 3 to 4 stories in height;” which, however, does not do away the idea of the *greater* part being *huts* of one floor only. In the Indian cities also, a great many houses of the like kind occur; but generally speaking, so much more open ground is attached to these, than to the huts, as to leave no balance in favour of population, from the additional stories.

That the area inclosed by the walls of Babylon was only partly built on, is proved by the words of Quintus Curtius, who says, lib. v. c. 4, that “the buildings (in Babylon) are not contiguous to the walls, but some considerable space was left all round.” He says, the space of one *jugerum*; which being a square measure, equal to about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an acre; and expressed by Pliny, lib. xviii. c. 3, to be 240 feet in length, by 120 in breadth; perhaps 240 feet may be intended for the breadth of the void space; as Diodorus says much the same thing<sup>6</sup>. What follows, in Curtius, is not so easy to comprehend: he says, “nor was the inclosed space entirely occupied by buildings; nor more than 80 stadia of it.” Is a *square* of 80 stadia meant? Then about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the space was occupied; and 80 *square* stadia is too inconsiderable a space, where the whole area is more than ten times as great.

<sup>6</sup> We have somewhere met with the *jugerum*, used as a measure of length; but cannot recollect where. Dr. Greaves considers it as a space of 240 feet in length, when applied as above.



“ Nor, (says he) do the houses join ; perhaps from motives of safety. The remainder of the space is *cultivated* ; that in the event of a siege, the inhabitants might not be compelled to depend on supplies from without <sup>7</sup>.” Thus far Curtius.

Diodorus describes a vast space taken up by the palaces and public buildings. The inclosure of one of the palaces (which appears to be what is called by others the *citadel* ; of which, more in the sequel) was a square of 15 stadia, or near a mile and a half ; the other of 5 stadia : here are more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  square miles occupied by the palaces alone. Besides these, there were the temple and tower of Belus, of vast extent ; the hanging gardens, &c.

The present city of *Bussorah*, according to the description of M. Niebuhr, and others, is much to the point of our argument ; and is also situated in the very same region with ancient Babylon. The circuit of its walls, according to M. Niebuhr, is about 7 British miles <sup>8</sup> (Mr. Irwin says 12), and may contain about 3 square miles ; and yet M. Niebuhr reckoned, in 1766, only 40 to 50,000 inhabitants. The ground within the walls has both date-groves and corn-fields in it : and M. Niebuhr very aptly

<sup>7</sup> According to Herodotus, it really happened during one of its sieges, that the inhabitants derived much advantage from the lands within the walls ; but had half of the area remained in the state of fields, it would not have fed, in the usual way, one-sixth part of the inhabitants residing on the other half. But the mode of living, during a siege, is very different ; and a small quantity of provisions goes a great way.

<sup>8</sup> He says a German mile and a half.

compares it to ancient Babylon, in this respect. By the plan, it seems as if less than one-third of the space was occupied by habitations, &c. in the usual style of building in Asia <sup>9</sup>.

Although the above notices do not convey any correct idea of the quantity of space occupied by the buildings, yet we may collect most clearly, that much vacant space remained within the walls of Babylon: and this, in our idea, does away the great difficulty respecting the magnitude of the city itself. Nor is it stated as the effect of the subsequent decline of Babylon; but as the actual state of it, when Alexander first entered it: for Curtius leaves us to understand, that the system of cultivating a large proportion of the inclosed space, originated with the foundation itself; and the history of its two sieges, by Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, seems to shew it. See Clio, 190; and Thalia, 150, *et seq.*

But after all, it is certain, and we are ready to allow, that the extent of the buildings of Babylon was great, and far beyond the ordinary size of capital cities then known in the world: which may indeed be concluded, from the manner in which the ancients in general speak of it <sup>1</sup>. In particular, what

<sup>9</sup> At the rate of 50,000 to 3 square miles, Babylon at 72, should have contained 1,200,000.

<sup>1</sup> If, however, we believe the report of Diodorus, the area of *Nineveh* was much greater than that of *Babylon*, taken on the report of Clitarchus. If the report of Strabo be adopted, Babylon falls but little short of *Nineveh*, in respect of the area contained within its walls; and if that of Herodotus, Babylon very far exceeds it. But, it must be supposed, at all events, that much open space remained in *Nineveh*, as well as in *Babylon*.

Strabo says of *it*, and of *Seleucia*; together with what Pliny says of the *latter*, proves, by comparisons which are very striking, that Babylon had been by far the largest city known to those writers. Strabo says, p. 737, that Seleucia was, in his time, *larger* than Babylon; the *greater part* of which was become a desert. This implies that Babylon, in its *then* state, was in the *next degree*, in point of *size*, to Seleucia: for the *greater part* of Babylon (that is, of the former city, we may suppose), was deserted, and yet Seleucia, which was a very large city, is represented only as being *larger than Babylon*, when in that reduced state. To add to this, Pliny, at perhaps 70 years after Strabo, says, lib. vi. c. 26, that Seleucia contained 600,000 people; yet, we can hardly suppose that it had increased during that interval; because Ctesiphon, previous to the time of Strabo, had become the winter residence of the Parthian kings. So that it may be inferred, at least, that Seleucia, a very large city, containing 600,000 inhabitants, was rather less than *half* the original size, and contained less than half the original population of Babylon: and, of course, that the population of the latter, during its most flourishing state, exceeded twelve hundred thousand; or, perhaps, *a million and a quarter*.

It has been said, page 446, note, that London and its environs (by which is meant to exclude the parts that are only classed as such, by being inserted in the bills of mortality), may be supposed to occupy 15½ square miles, of British measure; and also, in the same place, that, very probably, according to the

scattered way in which Babylon, in common with other Asiatic cities, was built, nearly double the quantity of space would be occupied by an equal number of people in that city; or say, 30 miles. Now, according to this proportion, the million and quarter of people in Babylon should have covered, or at least have occupied, nearly 47 square miles; or within one mile of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole space of 72 miles, taken on the report of Clitarchus, and others, who accompanied Alexander. The reader will recollect that the report of Curtius, as we understand it, is a *square* of 80 stadia, which is equal to about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the area, according to his own statement of the circuit; which is 368 stadia. Thus the two results differ no more than about  $\frac{1}{11}$  part.

Were we to admit, that the whole area of 72 miles, or, according to Strabo, 80 miles, was occupied; it would be stepping beyond the bounds that probability warrants, according to what has yet offered itself to our notice, in a situation that could not command supplies by sea. The measure of population, and consequently the extent of the ground built on, must have been regulated by the power of affording supplies of provisions and necessities to the inhabitants; and this must have a reference, not only to the state of the surrounding country, but to the facility of transporting its productions. It has been already stated, that the access to Babylon, by water, was not easy: for so far from being open to all the world, for supplies, the communication with the adjacent countries was but imperfect:

and one of those countries, Arabia, afforded little or nothing.

Perhaps, in no case whatsoever, can the size of an *inland* capital be extended, so as to bear any proportion to the extent of an overgrown empire: because the prices of provisions and necessaries, keeping pace with the increase of the people collected together, they cannot, in the end, afford to purchase them. And although this applies more particularly to *inland* situations, yet it applies, in a *degree*, to maritime situations also.

It may be remarked, that Diodorus says, that Semiramis brought together, from different parts of her empire, *two millions* of workmen, to build her city of Babylon. It is possible, that this number may have been the popular estimate of the inhabitants of the city: and so far is certain, that, at the rate allowed above, the 72 square miles would have contained more than nineteen hundred thousand. But it may rationally admit of a doubt, whether two millions of people, or any number approaching to that measure of population, were ever brought together, in one city, since the creation of the world. One might have expected it in China, if any where; but the population of Pekin, we believe, falls much below that of London. Probably, there is a certain *maximum* of population, which is determined by the local circumstances of each situation, combined with accidental ones; and which may therefore vary in all. The reader will easily figure to himself some of these circumstances. Perhaps LONDON may be capa-

ble of as great an extension as any European city : since the plenty, and portable nature, of its fuel, is such, as to be afforded almost as cheap as in many of its provincial towns ; the country around it plentiful, and the communications easy ; its port convenient for the importation of grain, from all the world ; and its fleets equal both to the transportation, and to the protection of it. But even these advantages have their limits : besides, the habits of living require other articles of prime necessity, which can only be drawn from the produce of the country itself ; and which, on the gradual extension of the city, must be brought from places more and more remote, until the prices become enhanced to an inconvenient and insupportable degree.

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We shall next inquire into the *geographical position* and *remains* of Babylon : the former of which, being, as we trust, very satisfactorily ascertained, by the authorities that will be adduced (ancient as well as modern), there will, of course, be little doubt concerning the identity of the latter <sup>2</sup>.

I. By the traditions of the Oriental writers in general ; and of the natives on the spot.

II. By the notices found in ancient authors, corresponding with those traditions : and

III. By the description of its remains, by modern

<sup>2</sup> The reader is referred to Map, No. VI. at page 441, for explanations respecting the geographical situation of Babylon.

travellers, compared with the ancient descriptions. Of these, in their order.

FIRST, Of the traditions of the Oriental geographers, &c.

Abulfeda says<sup>3</sup> that BABEL, anciently a celebrated city, which communicated its name to the whole province, (Babylonia,) has now nothing more than a village on its site. There are still to be seen the ruins of structures of the highest antiquity, which induces a belief that a great city stood there. He adds, that in ancient times the kings of *Canaan* resided there. Also, that *Hellah* stands on the *land of Babel*; as well as *Sura*, which is near to Kasr Ibn Hobeira<sup>4</sup>.

M. Otter, quoting the Turkish geographer, Ibrahim Effendi, says, that “*Babel* is close to *Hellah*: and on the left hand<sup>5</sup> (*i. e.* on the west) of the road, in going from Hillah to Bagdad.”

The Arabs and inhabitants on the spot, not only give the name of BABEL to the district round about Hillah; but have also pointed out to many European travellers (in particular Della Valle, Pere Emanuel, Niebuhr, and Beauchamp), vast ruins and heaps of earth or rubbish, on both sides of the Euphrates, as the remains of the ancient city, spoken of by Abulfeda, and other Eastern writers.

The Oriental geographers give the latitude of Babel from 32° 15' to 32° 25'. The centre of it,

<sup>3</sup> See *Irak*; article *Babel*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* articles *Hellah* and *Kasr Hobeira*.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. p. 211.

admitting the ruin taken for the tower of Belus to be the remains of that edifice, should be in latitude  $32^{\circ} 31'$  : since these remains are about three G. miles to the northward of Hillah, which, by observation, is in about  $32^{\circ} 28'$  <sup>6</sup>.

M. Otter informs us that Hillah, according to the *Kanon*, is in latitude  $32^{\circ} 25'$ , which differs only three minutes from the report of M. Niebuhr <sup>7</sup>.

SECONDLY, By the notices in ancient authors.

Herodotus says, that the fountains of bitumen at *Is*, from whence the bitumen, used in the construction of Babylon, was brought, were situated at eight journies above that city. (See the note to page 443.) There are some copious fountains of this kind, near *Hir*, a town on the Euphrates, at 128 G. miles above Hillah, reckoning the distance along the bank of the Euphrates. This distance answers to eight ordinary journies of a caravan, of 16 miles each, direct ; and is at the same rate as the six journies, at which *Hit* is reported to lie from Bagdad, according to M. Niebuhr. There can be no doubt, therefore, that *Hit* is the place intended by *Is* ; and which should have been written *It*.

The Theodosian tables allow 44 Roman miles between Seleucia and Babylon ; and these produce 32 G. miles in direct distance, allowing for the inflexions of the road : for it can hardly be doubted that *road* distance was intended. The 44 MP. direct, would

<sup>6</sup> M. Niebuhr says  $32^{\circ} 28'$  : M. Beauchamp,  $32^{\circ} 38'$  ; no doubt falsely printed.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. ii. 209.



give 35 G. miles. According to Pliny, lib. vi. c. 26. Seleucia was built at the distance of 3 MP. from Ctesiphon; and on the opposite, or western, bank of the Tigris: and the site of Ctesiphon is recognized by the remains of the stately palace of *Chosroes* (now named *Tauk Kesra*, or the Throne of Chosroes<sup>8</sup>). This palace is placed, on the authority of M. Niebuhr, Mr. Ives, M. Beauchamp, and Abulfeda, at 19 G. miles to the south-eastward of Bagdad<sup>9</sup>. There can hardly be a shadow of doubt respecting the site of Ctesiphon: for, according to Abulfeda, *Tauk Kesra* stood within that of *Modain*, which he says was named by the Persians, *Thaisafun*<sup>1</sup>, meaning *Ctesiphon*; it being well known that *Modain*, by which is meant the *two cities*, was the collective name for Seleucia and Ctesiphon, amongst the Arabian conquerors of Persia. Ctesiphon was the *Parthian*, or as Abulfeda calls it, the *Persian* name; which is exactly the same thing.

These remains stand very near to the eastern bank of the Tigris, at a few miles below the conflux of the Diala river with the Tigris; as Pliny says that

<sup>8</sup> Abulfeda's Irak, article *Modain*, or *Madain*. Otter, vol. ii. p. 37.—D'Herbelot, article *Noushirwan*. See also Irwin's and Ives's Travels; of which more in the sequel.

<sup>9</sup> M. Niebuhr furnishes the bearing. See his *Voyage en Arabic*, vol. ii. p. 249, French edition. Abulfeda, article *Modain*, says, that it is a day's journey below Bagdad; which is equal to 18 Arabic miles, or 19 geographic. The distance on the map is reckoned from the *bridge* of Bagdad. See Map, No. VI. facing page 441.

<sup>1</sup> Also, *Isbanin*; according to Reiske's spelling. Otter writes *Tisbon*, and *Esbainin*. Vol. ii. p. 37.

Ctesiphon and Seleucia did, in respect of the *Median* Choaspes; which is evidently meant for the Diala. It agrees also with the position of the *Nahr Malka*, a royal canal, leading from the Euphrates into the Tigris: for it joined the latter at Seleucia. A part of the bed of this canal is still to be traced; and it existed so late as the time of the Bagdad Caliphate. It is said, also, by M. Beauchamp, that the foundations of the walls of Seleucia may be traced. Of Ctesiphon, also, very considerable remains are visible <sup>2</sup>.

M. Beauchamp <sup>3</sup>, who visited both the site of Babylon, and of Tauk Kesra, says, that they are 12 leagues asunder: and also, that Tauk Kesra is 6 leagues from Bagdad. And, in effect, the particular ruin named by the natives, *Babel*, or *Makloubé* (taken for the tower of Belus), is, on our construction <sup>4</sup>, 39 G. miles to the SSW of Tauk Kesra; answering to  $12\frac{1}{3}$  farsangs, or Persian leagues. And this latter is also 19 such miles from Bagdad, answering to six farsangs. But as the whole breadth of Seleucia, and half that of Babylon, is included in the 12 farsangs

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ives describes very particularly the remains of Ctesiphon, or Modain, p. 290; as well as the stupendous palace of Chosroes, which marks its site. See also Irwin's Travels, vol. ii. p. 351; and Otter, vol. ii. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> See the European Magazine for May, 1792, p. 338, *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> The geographical construction alluded to, is founded on the materials furnished by a number of persons, and will be found in the Map, No. VI. The following are the persons whose works have been consulted: Niebuhr, Ives, Irwin, Otter, Evers, Thevenot, Della Valle, Texeira, Edrisi, Abulfeda, and Balbi.

reckoned between *Tauk Kesra* and *Makloube*, it will be found that the 44 MP. of the tables, taken at 32 G. miles, *direct*, will agree to the interval of space between the approximating parts of the two cities; which might even be less than 32.

Strabo says (p. 738.) that *Seleucia* was built at the distance of 300 stadia from *Babylon*; and as these are to be taken at the rate of 700 to a degree, 26 G. miles will be the distance intended.

Pliny says (lib. vi. c. 26.) that they were 90 miles asunder: but this differs so much from all the other accounts, that we shall lay it out of the question.

Now, the whole of these authorities, taken together, clearly point out the position of ancient *Babylon* to be at, or near, the present city of *Hillah*, or *Hellah*, which is known to have been built of the bricks of the ancient city; and is said to stand on a part of its very site. For it agrees in point of distance, from *Ctesiphon* and *Is*, or *Hit*; and is expressly pointed out by the Oriental geographers, and the people on the spot; and moreover retains its ancient name of *Babel*. And lastly, the identity of the position intended by the Oriental geographers is proved by the latitude.

THIRDLY, By the descriptions of its remains, by modern travellers, compared with the ancient descriptions.

According to the description of this city, by *Herodotus*, it stood in a large plain: the exterior of it was a square, surrounded by a lofty wall; and it was divided into two equal parts by the *Euphrates*, which passed through it. In the centre of one of

these divisions, stood the temple and tower of Belus ; in the other, the spacious palace of the king. We have already spoken of the extraordinary dimensions of the wall that surrounded Babylon ; which are variously given, from 480 to 360 stades. The first of these numbers is (as we have seen), from Herodotus, whose measures both of the *enceinte* and every other part, are enormous and improbable ; occasioned, as we are ready to believe, by corruptions of the text. As an instance of the latter, he is made to say, that reeds were placed at every 30th course of brickwork, in the Babylonish buildings ; but modern travellers find them at every 6th, 7th, or 8th course, in Aggarkuf, apparently a Babylonish building : and M. Beauchamp found them at *every* course, in some of the buildings in Babylon. We have therefore disregarded his numbers on the present occasion. Even the dimensions given by Strabo are beyond probability, as far as respects the *height* of the walls, which he gives at 50 cubits, or 75 feet. The thickness, 32 feet, if meant of an earthen rampart, faced with brick, falls short of our modern ramparts, which are about 48 feet at the base ; the parapet alone being 18 feet, yet leaving an ample space for two carriages to pass each other, which is the most that Strabo says of the space on the wall of Babylon. And as a *cannon proof* parapet was not required, at Babylon, *several* carriages might have gone abreast on a rampart of equal solidity with ours. There is, therefore, nothing extraordinary in this particular <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Respecting the height and thickness of the walls of Babylon,

With respect to the two principal structures in this stupendous city, the *castellated palace* (called also by some the *citadel*), and the *temple and tower of Belus*—the general description of the first is given by Diodorus, of the latter by Herodotus. They are both wonderful in their kind; the first for the extent of the ground which it covered, and which is represented to have been a square of near a mile and

there are great variations in the different reports. Probably, we ought to receive the accounts of the later writers, as the most correct; for the same reason that we gave a preference to their report of the extent of the city. The Macedonians, and latter Greeks, had more leisure to examine and measure the objects that presented themselves, than casual observers. Pliny seems to have copied Herodotus; whilst Strabo probably followed the Macedonian reports. Diodorus also makes a striking distinction between the reports of the *early*, and the *later*, writers. It may have been, that 50 cubits, or about 75 feet, was the height of the city wall, measured, perhaps, from the bottom of the ditch; and the thickness, 32.

The following are the statements of the different authors, respecting the measures of Babylon.

	Circuit in Stades.	Height of the Walls.		Breadth of the Walls.	
		Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.
Herodotus . .	480	200	= 300	50	= 75
Pliny, 60 MP.	480		—		—
Ctesias . . . .	360	*	300		—
Clitarchus . .	365		—		—
Curtius . . . .	368	100	= 150	—	32
Strabo . . . .	385	50	= 75	—	32

\* Fifty *orgyia* are given, it should probably be fifty cubits.

a half<sup>6</sup>: the other for its bulk and height; its base alone being said to be a *cubic stade*, surmounted by seven towers, which successively diminished as they rose. More will be said concerning this tower in the sequel; when it will appear that there must either be an error in the text of Herodotus, in this place; or that he had been grossly deceived in point of information.

Herodotus has not said in which of the divisions of the city, the temple and palace respectively stood; but it may be pretty clearly collected from Diodorus, that the temple stood on the *east* side, and the palace on the *west*; and the remains found at the present day, accord with this idea. For, Diodorus describes the GREAT palace to be on the *west* side, the LESSER palace on the *east*; and there also was the brazen statue of *Belus*. Now, he makes such a distinction between the two palaces, as plainly to shew that the one on the west was to be regarded as THE PALACE; and, consequently, was *the* palace intended by those who place a palace, to answer on the *one* side, to the temple of Belus on the *other*. It is also to be collected from Herodotus, Clio, 181, that the palace and the citadel were the same: he says, "the royal palace fills a large and strongly defended space," in the centre of one of the divisions.

Diodorus says, that the temple stood in the centre

<sup>6</sup> Descriptions of the palaces will be found in Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 1. And a general idea of the extent and position of the walls of Babylon, as also of the relative situations of the public buildings, will be found in the Map opposite page 441.

of the *city*; Herodotus, in the centre of *that division* of the city in which it stood, as the palace in the centre of *its* division. But the description of Diodorus is pointed, with respect to the fact of the palace being near to the bridge, and consequently to the river bank: and he is borne out by the descriptions of Strabo and Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to be very near the river: and all agree that they were within, or adjacent to, the square of the *fortified palace*<sup>7</sup>. They were supplied with water, drawn up by engines from the Euphrates. Consequently, the palace should have stood nearer to the centre of the city itself, than to that of the division in which it stood; since the division was more than four miles broad: and it appears natural enough that the princess should avail herself of the prospect of a noble river, a stadium in breadth, flowing near the palace, instead of withdrawing two miles from it<sup>8</sup>. And it appears probable, that the

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, p. 738. He says, that "the Euphrates flows through the middle of the city; and the pensile gardens are adjacent to the river; from whence they were watered."

<sup>8</sup> Diodorus describes a *vaulted passage*, under the bed of the Euphrates, by which the queen (SEMIRAMIS) could pass from one palace to the other, on different sides of the river, (which was a stadium in breadth; according to Strabo, p. 738.) without crossing it. This serves at least to shew, that the palaces were very near to the river banks.

At a time when a TUNNEL of more than half a mile in length under the THAMES, is projected, it may not be amiss to mention the reported dimensions of the tunnel made by Semiramis, under the Euphrates; which, however, was no more than 500 feet in length, or less than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the projected tunnel under the Thames.

temple was also at no great distance from the opposite bank of the river ; that is, the *eastern* bank <sup>9</sup>.

A presumptive proof of the supposed position of the temple, should the words of Diodorus be regarded as ambiguous, is, that the gate of the city, named *Belidian*, and which we must conclude to be denominated from the temple, appears pretty clearly to have been situated on the *east* side. When Darius Hystaspes besieged Babylon (*Thalia 155, et seq.*) the *Belidian* and *Cissian* gates were opened to him, by Zopyrus ; and the Babylonians fled for refuge to the temple of Belus ; as, we may suppose, the nearest place of security. The *Cissian*, or *Susian* gate, must

That of Semiramis is said to have been 15 feet in breadth, and 12 in height, to the springing of the arch ; perhaps 20 in all. The ends of the vault were shut up with brazen gates. Diodorus had an idea that the Euphrates was 5 stadia in breadth. See lib. ii. c. 1.

The Euphrates was turned out of its channel in order to effect this purpose. Herodotus, who is silent concerning the tunnel, says, that the river was turned aside in order to build a bridge. Diodorus describes a bridge also. There is an absurd story told in both these historians, respecting the disposal of the water of the river, during the time of building the bridge, &c. According to them, the water was received into a vast reservoir, instead of the obvious and usual mode, of making a new channel, to conduct the river clear of the work constructing in its bed, into the old channel, at a point lower down.

<sup>9</sup> Here it is proper to remark, that there is this specific difference between the descriptions of Herodotus and of Diodorus : the first says, that the centres of the two divisions were occupied, respectively, by the palace and temple ; but Diodorus, by *two* palaces ; and although he speaks of the temple also, yet he does not point out its place. The square of the temple itself was two stadia.



surely have been in the eastern front of the city, as Susa lay to the east; and, by circumstances, the Belidian gate was near it; as the plan was laid that *Persian* troops were to be stationed opposite to these gates: and it is probable that matters would be so contrived as to facilitate, as much as possible, the junction of the two bodies of Persian troops that were first to enter the city, as a kind of forlorn hope.

It may also be remarked, that the gates at which the feints were made, previous to the opening of the Belidian and Cissian, were those of Ninus, Chaldea, and Semiramis. The first, towards Ninus or Nineveh, must have been, of course, to the *north*; and the Chaldean, to the *south*: and perhaps that of Semiramis to the *north-east*, between the Belidian and Ninian; as that of Cissia to the south-east, between the Belidian and Chaldean. As it is unquestionable, that the Ninian and Cissian gates were in the eastern division of Babylon, since the countries from whence they are respectively denominated, lie to the east of the Euphrates, it may be collected that the attack was confined to that division alone (and what army could invest a fortress of thirty-four miles in circuit?) And if this be admitted, the Belidian gate, and temple of Belus, must have stood on the east side of the Euphrates<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus says, that there were one hundred gates in the circuit of the city; which being a space of thirty-four miles, allows three gates to each mile. It is certain, that in modern fortresses, the communications with the country are not so numerous, in proportion to their extent: nor on the other hand,

Taking for granted, then, that the tower of Belus stood in the eastern division of the city, we shall examine the descriptions of it.

It appears that none of the Greeks who describe it, had seen it, till after it had been either ruined by Xerxes, or gone so far to decay, that its original design was not apparent. Herodotus himself, therefore, admitting that he viewed it, might not be a perfect judge of the design, or of the original height of the superstructure: and this may account for his exaggerated description; perhaps imposed on him, by some of the citizens of Babylon, long after the upper stories were fallen to ruin. The mass of rubbish, mentioned by Strabo, seems to prove this.

All the descriptions are very brief; and Strabo is the only one who pretends to give the positive measure of the elevation of the tower; though all agree in stating it to be very great. The square of the temple, says Herodotus, was *two stadia* (1,000 feet);

are they so far asunder as to have only three in a front of eight and a half miles. Probably the rest might have been smaller portals, which were shut up, during a siege.

It may indeed be concluded, that there were fewer gates and communications with the country, on the west, than elsewhere; for it may be recollected, that Alexander wished to enter the city by the *west*, (after his return from India), in order to avoid the evil foretold by the soothsayers; but was compelled to give up the attempt, by reason of the marshes and morasses on that side. (See Arrian, lib. vii.) We are told also by Diodorus, lib. iii. c. 1. that the number and depth of the morasses round about Babylon, made a smaller number of towers, in the nature of bastions, necessary for the defence of the wall. There were only two hundred and fifty of these in the whole circuit of thirty-four miles.

and the tower itself *one* stadium; in which Strabo agrees. The former adds, "In the midst, a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one stadium; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch, magnificently adorned; and near it a table of solid gold, but there is no statue in the place." Clio, 181. He afterwards (183.) describes another chapel, lower down in the structure, with golden statues, tables, and altars: all of which appear to have been forcibly taken away by Xerxes, who also put the priest to death.

Strabo (p. 738.) says, that the *sepulchre* of Belus was a *pyramid* of *one stadium* in height; whose base was a square of like dimensions; and that it was ruined by Xerxes. Arrian agrees in this particular; and both of them say, that Alexander wished to restore it, that is, we may suppose, both the tower and temple, but that he found it too a great labour; for it is said, that ten thousand men were not able to remove the rubbish, in the course of two months. Arrian calls it a stupendous and magnificent fabric; and says that it was situated in the *heart* of the city. Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 1. says, that it was entirely gone to ruin, in his time; so that nothing certain could be made out, concerning its design; but that it was of an exceeding great height, built of brick, and cemented with bitumen; in which the

others generally agree. Diodorus adds, that on the top was a statue of Belus, forty feet in height; in an upright posture. It has been the practice to make the statues placed on the tops of buildings, of such a height, as to appear of the natural size, when viewed from below: and if this rule was followed in Babylon, the tower should have been of about the height of five hundred feet, for the statue itself, in order to be viewed from a convenient station, clear of the base; and admitting the retreats of the stories to be regular, must have been from six hundred to six hundred and fifty from the eye below: and, at that distance, a statue of forty feet high would have appeared nearly of the size of a man.

It is impossible to suppose, for a moment, that the statement of the height and fashion of the tower, as it appears in Herodotus, can be true, since it describes the *base* of it to be a *solid cube of a stadium*, or five hundred feet; on which arose seven other towers, diminishing gradually to the top. Let any one, the least conversant in the dimensions of buildings, revolve in his mind the idea of a perpendicular wall five hundred feet in height, and as much in length! And this, one side of a base only, for a superstructure that must be supposed to bear some proportion to it! Surely Herodotus wrote *breadth* and *length*, and not breadth and *height*; which would agree with Strabo; and then we are left to conceive (as Strabo also says), a pyramid, consisting of the eight stories; or base with seven retreats, described by Herodotus; and consequently, of a form and height not very different from those of the great pyramid at

Memphis; only that the *retreats* were wider, and less numerous; and the top, perhaps, flatter<sup>2</sup>.

That it was exceeding lofty, must be conceived by the mode of expression of those who describe it: and if it be admitted that the whole fabric was a stadium in height, as Strabo says, and as appears probable; even this measure, which is about five hundred feet, must be allowed to be a vast height, for so bulky a structure, raised by the hands of man; for it is about twenty feet higher than the great pyramid of Memphis; and would exceed the loftiest pile in this Island (Salisbury steeple) by one hundred feet<sup>3</sup>. But as the base of the great pyramid is about seven hundred feet square, or nearly once and a half that of the tower of Belus, the solid contents of the pyramid must have been much greater<sup>4</sup>. The

<sup>2</sup> There are pagodas in India, particularly in the Peninsula, that answer precisely to this kind of pyramid. The great pagoda in Tanjore, which has even more stories than the tower of Belus, comes up exactly to our idea. See the drawing of Tanjore, published by my friend Mr. Dalrymple, in 1776.

<sup>3</sup> It is said, by Dr. Greaves, that the old steeple of St. Paul's, previous to the fire of 1666, was five hundred and twenty feet in height; which was, of course, forty higher than the pyramid; and twenty higher than the tower of Belus.

<sup>4</sup> It is well known that travellers differ exceedingly in their reports of the dimensions of the great pyramid, owing to the impossibility of measuring the sides of its base; which are in a great measure covered with heaps of sand drifted against them, by the wind: so that the corners alone remain naked to the foundations. Our countryman, Dr. Greaves, a mathematician and astronomer, about the middle of the last century, measured the great pyramid by means of a base and quadrant; and affirms that the sides of the pyramid are six hundred and

Greeks, with Alexander, who saw and described the tower, had also seen the pyramids: but they make no comparison between either their bulk, or their altitudes. The tower, from its having a narrower base, would *appear* much more than twenty feet higher than the pyramid<sup>5</sup>. The space occupied by the mass of ruins, taken for the tower of Belus, appears, as far as can be judged, to agree with the

ninety-three feet of the English standard, and the diagonal precisely the same; so that each of the four *reclining sides* of it form a perfect equilateral triangle, bating the top, which terminates in a plain surface of thirteen feet square. He also affirms, that the perpendicular altitude of the same pyramid is four hundred and eighty-one feet.

Another English gentleman (Mr. Graves) measured the same pyramid a few years ago. His report is seven hundred and twenty-seven to seven hundred and twenty-eight feet, each side; and the diagonal six hundred and eighty-three; giving an altitude of four hundred and fifty feet only.

Had M. Niebuhr *measured* the pyramid, we should have listened to his report with the attention and respect due to his authority: but he only *paced* it. However, the result, as it respects the base, approaches to Dr. Greaves's. For he reckoned one hundred and forty of his paces, which he calculates at five Danish feet each, giving a total of seven hundred and ten feet; equal to about six hundred and eighty-five English. If we take his pace at five Roman feet, the result will be much the same. But he sinks the altitude very much below either of the others.

It is proper to remark, that although the great pyramid is somewhat larger at the base, than the second, yet that the latter, in M. Niebuhr's idea, is the highest of the two, being built up to a point; whereas the greater terminates with a plane of thirteen feet square.

<sup>5</sup> The reader is referred to the Map opposite page 441, where a comparison is made between the section of the pyramid, and that of the tower.

idea that may be collected from the descriptions of it; considering that, as so great a portion of it was formed of earth, very much of the mass must have been washed down by the rain; which, according to Della Valle and Beauchamp, has worn deep ravines in its sides. Much also must have been dissipated, in dry seasons, by the winds.

With respect to the form of the tower—some have surmised, that the winding path on the outside, gave occasion to the report of eight towers placed one above the other: but had it derived its character from this circumstance alone, it would have had a very different appearance from that of a regular pyramidal form, as is described by Strabo: although a winding path might have been so contrived, as to preserve the regularity of the figure.

Authors differ also, in respect of the manner in which the tower was completed at the top. Herodotus says, that it terminated in a spacious dome, in the nature of a chapel, or temple; but others say, an observatory. Diodorus says, that the statue of Belus was at the top: Herodotus, lower down the building. Who shall decide? Xerxes is said to have removed the statues; so that, of course, Herodotus could not have seen them.

Della Valle, when at Bagdad, in 1616, (see his *Travels*, Vol. ii.) had the curiosity to visit the site of Babylon; which is well known to the people of those parts, as well by its name of **BABEL**, as by the traditions concerning it. He found, at the distance of about three miles to the northward of Hillah, and at no great distance from the eastern bank of the Eu-

phrates, a vast heap of ruins, of so heterogeneous a kind, that, as he expresses it, he could find nothing whereon to fix his judgment, as to what it might have been, in its original state. He recollected the descriptions of the tower of Belus, in the writings of the ancients, and supposed that this might have been the remains of it. He paced its circumference and found it to be 1134 of his ordinary steps, which cannot well be rated lower than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  English feet each; but may have been  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . At the former rate, the circuit would be 2552 feet; whence the dimensions of each side of the ruin should have been 638 feet; but he himself reckons that number of steps equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a league. An Italian league is about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an English league, of three statute miles; consequently, the circuit would be 900 yards, or somewhat more than half an English mile. Each side, then, would be 660 feet; requiring nearly a mean between  $2\frac{1}{4}$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , for the length of each step, which appears probable; the Roman *pace*, or *double* step, being about 4 feet 10 inches of our standard.

There can be little doubt, but that the base has been increased by the falling ruins; although it must be supposed, that such parts of them as consisted of burnt bricks, have been removed, as most of the other ruins of the same kind have been; and as even the foundations of the city walls, and of other structures, in Babylon, continue to be, to this day; and that for the purpose of building houses in other places. At all events, the base of the ruin must far exceed that of the original fabric: and, by the way, it may be concluded, that, if the Greeks



found the tower of Belus, when in such a state, as that the dimensions of its base could be ascertained, a stadium in length and breadth, the standard of the stadium must have been nearer 500 than 600 feet.

Indeed, it can hardly be supposed, even when the furnace-baked bricks of the ruin were removed, that the remaining matter would form a mass of less than 660 feet on each side; supposing it to have been 500 originally. It may be concluded, that the uppermost stories consisted more of masonry, than earth; but the lower, chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place by a vast wall of sun-dried bricks, the outer part, or facing of which, was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire. Strabo says, that the sides of the tower were of *burnt* bricks.

Della Valle's description of this vast ruin contains much information, and also much internal evidence, concerning the position and dimensions of the tower of Belus. He goes on to say, that the mountainous ruin in question, like most other ruins, does not present a regular figure, but is of different heights in different places; and that the highest part of the palace at Naples is not so high as some parts of this ruin. In some places, the sides are steep and craggy; in others, they form a slope that may be ascended; and there appeared the traces of torrents that had been occasioned by the running off of the rain water. On the top, he saw what might be taken for *caverns* or *cells*; but they were in so ruinous a state, that he could not judge whether they made a part of the original design, or were excavated since; in fact,

that the whole appeared like a mass of confusion ; none of its members being distinguishable.

With respect to the materials, he found that two sorts of bricks had been made use of ; the one having been simply dried in the sun, the other baked in the furnace. Of the latter sort, which seem to have been employed only in such parts of the fabric, as were either the most exposed to the weather, or which required a greater degree of solidity than the rest, there were by far the smallest proportion ; and with *these*, a cement, either of lime, or of bitumen, had been used : but the parts which he dug into, were, generally speaking, formed of sun-dried bricks. It is obvious, however, that his researches in this way must have been very much limited, both as to the number of places, and the depth to which he penetrated. These bricks, (if they deserve the name,) were laid in *clay* mortar only ; and with this, or with the bricks themselves, broken reeds, or straw, had been *mixed*. He is, however, silent concerning any *layers* of reeds ; although such have been observed by M. Beauchamp, in this place ; and by several others in the ruin of *Aggarkuf*, near Bagdad.

He observed the foundations of buildings *around the great mass*, at the distance of 50 or 60 paces ; but beyond that, to a great distance, the whole was a clear, and an even plain. These foundations appear to prove a great deal, respecting the temple and tower of Belus. For if the 50 or 60 paces on both sides of the ruin be reckoned equal to 260

feet, and the base of the ruin 660, we have a total of 920 feet; or only 80 feet short of the *two stadia*, which, Herodotus says, was the dimensions of the square of the inclosure of the temple of Belus; in which the pyramidal tower stood. May it not then be suspected, that the foundations are a part of those of a range of buildings, which formed the inclosure of the area in which the tower stood; and which buildings, in effect, constituted the temple itself?

Although Della Valle's route must have led him across the whole extent of the eastern division of Babylon, yet he takes no notice of any remains, save those already mentioned. M. Niebuhr and M. Otter, did not indeed traverse the very *same* ground, because they took the direct route from Hillah to Bagdad, which leads to the eastward of the ruins; but which, notwithstanding, crosses almost the whole length of the site of Babylon, between the supposed tower of Belus, and the east front of the city wall. See Map, at p. 441.

By the information collected by these gentlemen, at Hillah and elsewhere, it is certain that other remains of walls and edifices are in existence, although enveloped in woods or coppices. M. Otter was told, that the site of Babylon was generally covered with wood: (Vol. ii. p. 211.) and M. Niebuhr, that amongst the *hillocks* or *eminences* formed by its ruins, are found, here and there, trees that appear to be *very ancient*, as having been left untouched by the inhabitants; although (as he observes) from the

gulf of Persia to that neighbourhood, no other kind of trees, except date and other fruit-trees, are to be seen <sup>6</sup>.

M. Niebuhr was also informed (it is to be re-

<sup>6</sup> The *hanging* gardens (as they are called), which had an area of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres, had trees of a considerable size growing in them: and it is not improbable that they were of a species different from those of the natural growth of the alluvial soil of Babylonia. Curtius says, that some of them were eight cubits in the girth; and Strabo, that there was a contrivance to prevent the large roots from destroying the superstructure, by building vast hollow piers, which were filled with earth to receive them. These trees may have been perpetuated in the same spot where they grew, notwithstanding that the terraces may have subsided, by the crumbling of the piers and walls, that supported them; the ruins of which may form the very eminences spoken of by M. Niebuhr; and which are covered with a particular kind of trees. Such a mass of ruins could not but form a very considerable eminence. See the descriptions of the gardens, in Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 1; Strabo, p. 738; and Curtius, lib. v. c. 1. Josephus (contra Ap. lib. i. c. 19.) quotes Berosus, who also mentions them.

There is little doubt but that the gardens contained at least  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres. Diodorus says, they formed a square of 400 feet; Curtius, that they were supported by 20 walls, 11 feet distant from each other; which spaces, together with the thickness of the walls, will at least make up 400 feet. Strabo says, four jugera; but the just-mentioned dimensions require more than five. They had a view over the city walls, and were said to be 50 cubits high. Finally, they were said to have been made to gratify the whim of a mistress; and it must be confessed, that such fancies appear more appropriate to such a character, than to the sober wishes, and rational modes of expence, that may be expected in a queen consort; at least one who partook of the patriotism of her husband; and who would by all means prevent a monument of his folly from being exhibited aloft, to the view of the surrounding country.

gretted that he could not have been enabled to visit the ruins of Babylon generally), that the principal ruins, answering to those seen by Della Valle, were situated about three miles to the NNW of Hillah. He says also, that such part of the walls, as stood above ground, have long ago been carried away ; but that the foundations continue to be *dug up*, and are carried to Hillah. And that in the tract of BABEL, on both sides of the Euphrates, are seen many eminences that are dug into for bricks, as well as heaps of bricks themselves. These bricks, he says, are *a foot square*, and remarkably well baked ; and having originally been laid in *matter* that had no degree of tenacity, they were easily separated ; and that without breaking them. Vol. ii. page 235. The caravanserai of Hillah, as he was told, was built, at no very distant period, of those bricks ; and the town itself in the 11th century, according to M. Otter.

M. Beauchamp, Vicar General of Babylon, and Corresponding Member of the French Academy of Sciences, visited these celebrated ruins several times within the last twenty years. Of all the European travellers, none seems to have had so good an opportunity of examining them as M. Beauchamp ; he having, apparently, prosecuted his inquiries at his fullest leisure, and under a protection that left his attention undisturbed ; advantages that none of the others seem to have possessed. Nor was his attention confined to this spot only ; for he visited many other places both in Mesopotamia and Persia. His description of what he saw in the eastern quarter of

Babylon, is here given the last in order of the different accounts, because it seems on the whole to convey the most information of any, considered in a general point of view; although it falls short of some of the others, in respect of particulars. It also supplies certain defects of the other descriptions. Still, however, he has rather excited, than gratified, our curiosity.

We have inserted in the text such parts only of M. Beauchamp's descriptions, as apply immediately to our subject; and the remainder is thrown into the form of notes. This arrangement has been made, in order that the reader's attention may not be diverted from the main object; leaving him to examine the curious facts stated in the notes, afterwards<sup>7</sup>.

“ The ruins of Babylon are very visible a league north of Hellah. There is, in particular, an elevation which is flat on the top; of an irregular figure; and intersected by ravines. It would never have been suspected for the work of human hands, were it not proved by the layers of bricks found in it. Its height is not more than 60 yards. It is so little elevated, that the least ruin we pass in the road to it, conceals it from the view<sup>8</sup>. To come at the bricks, it is necessary to dig into the earth. They are

<sup>7</sup> We have not been able to obtain a copy of the original, from whence the translation of M. Beauchamp's correspondence, inserted in the *European Magazine* for 1792, was made.

<sup>8</sup> This, however, is the mass of ruins, which Della Valle describes; and which we take for the remains of the tower of *Belus*.

baked with fire, and cemented with *zepht*, or bitumen ; between each layer are found *osiers*.

“ *Above* this mount, on the side of the river, are *those immense ruins*, which have served, and still serve, for the building of Hellah, an Arabian city, containing 10 or 12,000 souls. Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to the Abbé Barthelemy. This place, and the mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs *Makloubé*, that is, turned *topsy-turvy*. I was informed by the master-mason employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw amongst the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes, idols of clay are found, representing human figures. I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half-moon in relief. The bricks are cemented with bitumen, except in one place, which is well preserved, where they are united by a very thin stratum of white cement, which appears to me to be made of lime and sand.

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus, lib. ii. c. 1, says, that there were drawn *in colours*, on the bricks, used in building the wall of the great palace, various animals ; also a representation of a general hunting of wild beasts, &c. &c. The bricks were painted before they were burnt.

“ The bricks are every where of the same dimensions, one foot, three lines square, by three inches thick <sup>1</sup>. *Occasionally*, layers of osiers in bitumen <sup>2</sup> are found, as at Babel.

“ The master-mason led me along a valley, which he dug out a long while ago, to get at the bricks of a wall, that, from the marks he shewed me, I guess

<sup>1</sup> “ Most of the bricks found at *Makloubé* have *writing* on them: but it does not appear that it was meant to be read, for it is as common on bricks buried in the walls, as on those on the outside. I observed that each quarter has a peculiar impression: I mean, that we find but one series of letters, and arranged in the same manner, in one place.

“ Besides the bricks with inscriptions, there are solid cylinders, three inches in diameter, of a white substance, covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis, mentioned by Chardin.—Black stones, which have inscriptions engraved on them, are also met with. These, I was told, were found at *Broussa*, which is separated from *Makloubé* by the river.” (From the text of M. Beauchamp.)

<sup>2</sup> “ The quantity of bitumen that must have been employed in building Babylon, is scarcely credible. Most probably it was procured from *Hit* on the Euphrates, where we still find it. The master-mason told me, that he found some in a spot which he was digging, about 20 years ago; which is by no means strange, as it is common enough on the banks of the Euphrates\*. I have myself seen it on the road from Bagdad to Juba, an Arabian village, seated on that river.” (From M. Beauchamp.)

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\* We may remark on this report of the mason's, that Diodorus says, that great quantities of bitumen flow out of the ground at Babylon; that these springs supplied it for the building of the city; and that it was in such plenty, that it was even used for fuel; (lib. ii. c. 1.) Herodotus, however, brings it from *Is*, or *Hit*.



to have been 60 feet thick. It ran perpendicular to the bed of the river, and was probably the wall of the city. I found in it a subterranean canal, which, instead of being arched over, is covered with pieces of sand-stone, six or seven feet long, by three wide. These ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hellah, and incontestibly mark the situation of ancient Babylon <sup>3</sup>.

“I employed two men for three hours in clearing a stone which they supposed to be an idol. The part which I got a view of, appeared to be nothing but a shapeless mass: it was evident, however, that it was not a simple block, as it bore marks of the chisel, and there were pretty deep holes in it; but I could not find any inscription on it. The stone is of a black grain; and from the large fragments of it found in many places, it appears that there were some monuments of stone built here. On the *eastern side*, I found a stone nearly two feet square, and six inches thick, of a beautiful *granite*, the grain of which was white and red. All these stones must have been brought from some distance, as this part of the desert contains none. On the *same side* of the city, as I was told by the master-mason, there were walls of varnished bricks, which he supposed to have been a temple <sup>4</sup>.”

<sup>3</sup> The reader may recollect that we have assumed  $8\frac{1}{2}$  British miles, or about three French leagues, for the square of the inclosure of Babylon.

<sup>4</sup> I imagine medals must be found in the ruins of Babylon, if sought after: but the Arabs pick them up only when they know Europeans are desirous of them. One of copper was brought

These are all the notices that we have been able to collect respecting the ruins of that quarter of Babylon, which lies on the east of the Euphrates: and before we adduce the very brief description of what has been seen on the west, it may be proper to make a few observations on the reports of Della Valle and Beauchamp.

It would appear that all M. Beauchamp's descriptions relate to the eastern division: for he says, that "*Broussa*<sup>5</sup> is separated from *Makloube* by the river" (Euphrates): and it is well known that *Broussa* lies on the west side; and therefore *Makloube*, the name given to that part of the ruins of

me whilst I was there. In comparing it with different Parthian medals, I observed that all the heads of the latter bore a kind of mitre; that of the former, a crown of flowers\*.

"The master-workman informed me that there were three cities in which antiquities are found: *Babel*, or *Makloube*; *Broussa*, two leagues SE of *Hellah*, in the desert; and *Kaides*, (*Al Kadder*) still farther distant than *Broussa*. I was told that many marble statues were found in the latter, but it is dangerous to go thither without a strong guard." (From M. Beauchamp.)

<sup>5</sup> *Broussa*, called by the Arabs *Boursa*, is supposed to be *Borsippa* of Strabo (739.) and of Justin (lib. xii. c. 13.); to which place Alexander retired, when he was warned by the Chaldeans not to enter Babylon by the east. According to Josephus, (contra Ap. lib. i. c. 20.) it ought to be near to Babylon. It appears, from Strabo, to have been a place of great celebrity, as a place of worship. Ptolemy has *Barsita*, but more remote from Babylon. *Broussa* is only six miles to the south-east of its site.

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\* In the army of Xerxes, the *Cissians*, or *Susians*, wore mitres, but not the Medes or Persians. Polym. 62.

Babylon seen by him, must stand on the *east* side, of course. It is certain that, in two places, M. Beauchamp speaks of what he *saw* on the *east side*, which might imply that he likewise saw something on the *west* also: we therefore wish that he had expressed himself either more clearly, or more fully, in this respect <sup>6</sup>.

As for Della Valle, we may clearly perceive that he visited the eastern quarter only.

It may be observed, that M. Beauchamp's description of the mount of ruins (or tower of Belus, as we will use the reader's permission to call it), agrees, as far as it goes, with Della Valle's. The latter gives a positive idea of the *extent* of its base, the former of its *height*: by which we take it to be a square of 640 to 660 English feet, by about 200 <sup>7</sup> in height, in its present ruined state: and conclude that its base may have been originally a square of 500 feet, and its altitude the same: so that it contained less matter than the great pyramid.

With respect to the nature of the bricks in this fabric, these gentlemen do not altogether agree; M. Della Valle saying that they were of two sorts, *sun-dried* and *furnace-baked*: but M. Beauchamp describes but one sort, that is, the latter. He says,

<sup>6</sup> We here speak under correction, having never seen any account, save the translation in the European Magazine; of which, however, it may be conceived, there can be little reason to doubt the accuracy.

<sup>7</sup> M. Beauchamp says 180 feet. These, of course, must be taken for French, and are equal to about 192 English feet: or say, as it is a matter of guess, 200.

however, that in order to get at these, it is necessary to dig into the *earth*, where they are found in layers : the *earth*, therefore, if really *such*, must have composed a part of the fabric : but may not this earth be the mass which Della Valle describes as being composed of *sun-dried bricks* ? It is certain that the ruin named *Aggarkuf*, near Bagdad, which seems to possess the characteristic of a Babylonish building, (as having reeds between the courses,) is composed *chiefly* of sun-dried bricks. Every traveller who has described it, seems to have considered its bricks, as having been simply dried in the sun. M. Niebuhr and M. Evers<sup>8</sup>, are positive as to this point : and the reports of Ives and Taverniere imply it. But Mr. Ives observed, that those which remained in the building, were *softer* than those which lay scattered about, amongst the rubbish, at the foot of the ruin. We therefore conclude, that *two sorts* of bricks were used ; as Della Valle also reports of the tower of Belus ; for it cannot well be supposed that sun-dried bricks would become harder by lying exposed to the weather. And indeed it appears extraordinary altogether, that bricks, simply dried in the sun, or, in other words, *clods of earth*, should preserve their form, and not moulder down nearer to a natural slope, like other earth, in a course of so many ages.

It appears equally unaccountable, that Della Valle

<sup>8</sup> This gentleman published a Journal of his Voyage from India to England, in 1784.

should have overlooked the layers of reeds, osiers, or whatsoever was placed between the courses of masonry in the tower <sup>9</sup>, as that Beauchamp should not have observed the *sun-dried bricks*, and *clay mortar*, in the same place. Yet we cannot doubt but that all the three exist amongst the ruins in question. It is no new observation, that one man observes one thing, and another, another.

According to Strabo, p. 738, the Euphrates was only a *stadium* in breadth at Babylon; which account has been cavilled at. Texeira, who crossed it in a boat at Musseib, about 20 miles above the site of Babylon, guessed it to be about 200 paces wide, or from 450 to 500 feet. M. Niebuhr had a better opportunity of ascertaining its width at Hillah, a part of the site itself, by means of the bridge of boats there. He says it is 400 feet (if Danish, then about 390 English) wide at that place, which is even below Strabo's report. Accordingly, when we read of the vast breadth allowed to the Euphrates by Diodorus (who says that the bridge of Babylon was five stadia in length); and by Rauwolf, Shirley, and others, we must not receive their testimonies as founded on fact. As to its breadth at Thapsacus, or any other place higher up, it can be no guide in forming a judgment of it in this part; for here it is very *deep*<sup>1</sup>; there *shallow*: and although it is very wide at Thapsa-

<sup>9</sup> He speaks only of broken reeds, or straw, in the mud cement, between the sun-dried bricks.

<sup>1</sup> Texeira was told that it was 30 feet deep at Musseib. Hence, it may be concluded, that it was at least *very deep* there.

cus, it was exceedingly narrow near Zeugma and Roumkala <sup>2</sup>.

Della Valle informs us, that the *particular* course of the Euphrates is from *west* to *east*, through the plain of Babel; by which we should understand that it was such near the ruin of the tower of Belus: and by what he says of it higher up, (for he coasted the river bank for more than 30 miles above the site of Babylon,) as well as by the information of Texeira, the Euphrates forms some very deep windings in this part. Its general course, for 40 miles above, and the same distance below, Babylon, is from NNW  $\frac{1}{2}$  W to SSE  $\frac{1}{2}$  E: but more particularly at and above that site, it is from NNW to SSE.

Below Hillah, Mr. Ives's party traced it, and found its course to be remarkably serpentine. (See the Map opposite page 441.) And this being the effect of the current of the river, on a loose soil, its bed must have been subject to great changes: so that, in its course of eight or nine miles through the city, a vast expence must have been required to protect the banks from the depredations of the stream. And we are accordingly told, by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Curtius, that a provision was made for this purpose, by a strong wall cemented with bitumen, in the

<sup>2</sup> It may be inferred, from the circumstance of Alexander's ordering a bason to be dug at Babylon for his fleet, that there was not room in the river for it; (Arrian, lib. vii.) In effect, the present state of the Euphrates at the site of Babylon, shews what it must have been anciently: or indeed it ought to be rather larger there *now*, than anciently; since the canals that were drawn from it to the Tigris no longer exist.

nature of an embankment, on both sides. Herodotus, moreover, tells us, that because the city was endangered by the rapid current of the river, (perhaps rendered more rapid by its being straitened by artificial works, in its passage through the city,) a part of its waters were drawn off by an artificial canal, or canals, far above the city: so that, during the floods, the river of Babylon could only be considered as the *principal channel* of the Euphrates: and thus might carry nearly the same body of water at all seasons<sup>3</sup>.

We are not told in positive terms, whether or not the four sides of Babylon fronted the four cardinal points of the heavens. The only notice concerning it is, that Diodorus says, "the Euphrates runs to the *south*, through the *midst* of Babylon:" and which may, nevertheless, be meant only in a general sense. Those, however, who have indulged their fancies in making a plan of that city, have not only made its sides to face the cardinal points, but have conducted the river through it, in a straight channel, from north

<sup>3</sup> The territory round Hillah, named BABEL at the present day, is composed chiefly of plains, whose soil is rich; and the river banks are bordered with willows. We cannot forget the pathetic words put into the mouths of the captive Jews, by the author of the cxxxviii<sup>th</sup> psalm:

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

"We hanged our harps upon the *willows* in the midst thereof.

"For *there* they that carried us away captive, required of us a *song*: and they that wasted us, required of us *mirth*, saying, sing us one of the songs of Zion.

"How shall we sing the LORD's song in a strange land?"

to south; and made it to divide the city into two equal parts. It may, however, be supposed that two of its sides were parallel to the general course of the river, which, as we have said, is NNW and SSE; or perhaps more oblique: and even if a new channel had been prepared for it, through the site of the intended city, it might be expected that common sense would have given it a direction that was conformable to the general course of the stream. As M. Beauchamp says, that certain foundations, which he took for those of the city wall, ran at *right angles* with the course of the river, this circumstance is in favour of our supposition<sup>4</sup>.

It may reasonably be concluded, that very great changes have taken place in the course of the river, since the date of the descriptions of Babylon, by the early Greek authors. No doubt, the temple of Belus was farther from the river, at that time, than the descriptions of the moderns allow it to be, (taking the mount of ruins for the tower,) so that the river ran more to the west. (See again the Map opposite page 441.)

We shall now enter on the description of the ruins, seen in the western quarter of Babylon. Here it may be remarked, that, as the visits of European travellers have been mostly confined to the eastern quarter of the ancient city; and that, as their inquiries may be supposed to be directed by the people of the country, it may be inferred, either that

<sup>4</sup> The streets of cities, in hot climates, ought indeed to lie in a direction that is oblique to the cardinal points; because more shade is thrown during the hottest part of the day.



the principal part of the remains are on that side ; or that, if such exist on the west, the closeness of the woods, or some other obstacle, prevents a ready access to them. The former supposition seems, however, the most probable one.

M. D'Anville informs us, in his *Euphrates and Tigris*, pages 116 and 117, that he had seen a MS. relation of the travels of the missionary, Pere Emanuel de St. Albert, which the author had communicated to M. Bellet, at Constantinople ; and which the latter had sent to D'Anville's great patron, the Duke of Orleans. In it, the author says, " that he had seen in the *western* quarter of Babylon, (the other quarter he did not visit) extensive ranges of walls, partly standing, partly fallen ; and of so solid a construction, that it was scarcely possible to detach from them the large bricks of a *foot and a half square*, of which the buildings of Babylon were constructed. The Jews, settled in those parts, call these remains, the *prison* of *Nebuchodonosor*." M. D'Anville says, they might with more propriety call it his *palace*. Perhaps the great solidity of the fabric might lead them to conclude, that it was unnecessarily strong for a palace ; but it was a *fortified* palace.

M. Niebuhr visited a ruin on the west side of the Euphrates, but far too low down the river, in respect of the tower, to be regarded as the palace. From the brevity of the Pere Emanuel's description we cannot *determine*, absolutely, whether the ruins seen by these two gentlemen were one and the same : but we should certainly conclude the contrary : for

what M. Niebuhr saw, was, in his idea, rather a vast heap of bricks, than a structure; having above, or rising out of it, a tower of brick of great thickness. Vol. ii. p. 236. He does not give any dimensions either of the one, or of the other; having had but little time to examine it; being without an escort, and in immediate danger from some Arabs, who seemed to menace him. We hope with him, that some future traveller may have a better opportunity of examining it<sup>5</sup>.

Independent of its general situation, it cannot, from the description, be regarded as the tower of Belus: because its dimensions were so small, that M. Niebuhr himself took it for a watch-tower, when he saw it from a distant place. Nor does it accord with the description of the ruin seen by P. Emanuel. No doubt, over so widely extended a space, as the site of ancient Babylon, and its environs, there ought to be a great variety of remains. But if those seen by Della Valle were in the centre of the *city*, or even of the *eastern division* of it, as the temple of Belus is said to have been, those seen by M. Niebuhr could not have been included within the circuit of the wall, since the two ruins are more than nine miles from each other, in a direction of NE and SW. Indeed one cannot conceive the ruin on the

<sup>5</sup> The reader may easily conceive with what disadvantage an antiquary pursues his inquiries in the despotic regions of Turkey and Persia, where he is not only beset by banditti, in every retired situation, but even finds an enemy in the community at large, because the prejudices of education are sharpened by the persecuting spirit of the popular religion.

west side to have been less than two or three miles from the SW angle of the city.

The bricks, of which the fabric seen by M. Niebuhr was built, were furnace-baked. Nothing is said concerning the nature of the cement; nor are any *reeds* mentioned, either by P. Emanuel, or M. Niebuhr.

M. Niebuhr further says—"At the time when Babylon was in a flourishing state, and the country about it full of buildings, there must have been a fine view of it from this tower: for, at the *foot* of it may be seen the mosque of Ali (Mesjid Ali) which is at least eight leagues distant."

As we do not hear of any remains of the *superstructure* of the walls of Babylon, at this time, it may be concluded that the materials of them have been generally removed to build other cities. But this was not done in *very early* times; for although the city declined soon after the foundation of Seleucia, and was a deserted place in the time of Pliny, yet it appears that the city walls, as well as the tower of Belus, remained, although not entire. We learn both from Niebuhr and Beauchamp, that the foundations of buildings, and apparently, of the walls of the city also, (but particularly from the former) continue to be dug up, and transported to other places, for the purposes of building; that large heaps of rubbish are discernible in many places; and that the square bricks, of large dimensions (such as are above described in the tower of Belus, and in the walls of the ruined palace), are scattered over the tract round Hillah. These bricks too, are to be

traced amongst the buildings of Bagdad <sup>6</sup>, and other cities; as we find Roman bricks, in and about those towns that were formerly Roman stations, in this Island. The palace of Chosroes in Ctesiphon (now called Tauk Kesra) appears to have been built of bricks, brought from the ruins of Babylon; as the dimensions are so nearly the same, and the proportions so singular. Those who have made it their business to examine and inquire into such matters, have always found that the materials of ancient cities have been employed in the building of new ones, in cases where new foundations have been established in the same neighbourhood; and when such materials could conveniently be transported by inland navigations, they are found at very great distances from their ancient place: much farther, indeed, than Bagdad or Seleucia are from Babylon. In effect, the remains of ancient cities throughout the world, are those only, which are either too firmly cemented to be worth the labour of separating; too far distant from a convenient situation, to be worth the expense of transportation; or which, from their nature, are not applicable to ordinary purposes. For a deserted city is nothing else than a *quarry above ground*, in which the materials are ready shaped to every one's hands. And although, during the times of regular government, these ruins may become private property, or the property of the state, yet in the history of every country, there have happened intervals of anarchy and confusion, during which, such ruins have

<sup>6</sup> Della Valle, Vol. ii.

been regarded as common to all. In the above point of view, the Babylonians, Romans, and Bengallers, may be said to have provided a stock of materials for building, for the use of posterity; from the durable nature of their bricks<sup>7</sup>: but the bricks used in the building of some modern cities, seem to have been designed rather for the use of the age in which they were made, than for posterity. The ancient bricks that have preserved their durability are of various dimensions. Those made by the Romans, had their want of thickness made up in length and breadth. The Bengal bricks had all their proportions very small. The Babylonish bricks are, as far as we know, the *thickest* and largest of all ancient bricks. However, they do not appear to have exceeded by more than one-fourth of an inch in thickness, that of the thickest of modern bricks. So nearly do the experiments of ancient and modern times agree!

The dimensions of the furnace-baked bricks at Babylon, are reported pretty much alike, by Beauchamp and Niebuhr. The first gives them at one foot and three lines *square*, by three inches in thickness: the latter at a foot square; but omits to state the thickness, otherwise than that they were nearly of the same standard with our bricks. M.

<sup>7</sup> The city of Mauldah is built almost entirely from the remains of Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal. Moorshedabad is partly built from the same: and the bricks of Gour still afford a constant supply of materials for building. Its stone pillars have been distributed between Moorshedabad, Dacca, and Monghir: and some of the blocks of stone were used in the new citadel of Fort William, at Calcutta.

Beauchamp's account, from the complexion of it, must be regarded as the most accurate; and it being, of course, in French measure, the bricks may be reckoned rather above 13 inches square by nearly  $3\frac{1}{4}$  thick, in English measure. M. Niebuhr appears to have intended the *Danish* foot, which is rather shorter than the English. The report of P. Emanuel, which allows a *foot and half*, and which standard he extends to the bricks generally throughout Babylon, must be considered as inaccurate. Mr. Ives says, that the bricks in *Tauk Kesra* are *about* a foot square, by three inches thick; which general correspondence of dimensions may be regarded as a proof of their having been originally brought from the ruins of Babylon<sup>8</sup>. The sun-dried bricks in Aggarkuf, according to Ives, were of the same length and breadth as the others; but not being intended for the furnace, there was no necessity for reducing their thickness to that standard, which experience had shewn was convenient for baking in the fire: they were therefore  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , instead of 3 inches, in thickness. Possibly, if the matter had been examined into, the sun-dried bricks in the tower of Belus would also have been found much thicker than the baked ones<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> M. Beauchamp however says, that these are only 10 inches square by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in thickness. In English measure about  $10\frac{2}{3}$  by  $2\frac{2}{3}$ .

<sup>9</sup> By the polite attention of Dr. Gray, Secretary to the Royal Society, it became known to the Author, that there was a *sun-dried* brick in the British Museum; and which is said to have been taken out of the ruin, called the tower of Babel: no doubt, Aggarkuf. This brick, as nearly as its dimensions can be ascer-

M. Beauchamp seems to take it for granted, that cement, either of bitumen, or lime, was employed in *all* the masonry in ancient Babylon. But we do not conceive that the private buildings were constructed with *such* cement, because of the perfect and whole state, in which the bricks are found, that were taken from the ruins in general: and because the Babylonians appear to have had a cheaper substitute for it, in the *clay mortar*, mentioned by Della Valle: and in *that*, of what kind soever it might be, which is spoken of by M. Niebuhr. (See above, page 482.) From what Della Valle also reports, we should conclude, most decidedly, that *certain parts only* of the public buildings, including the city walls, were cemented with bitumen; perhaps those which were

tained, (for, from its friable nature, it has lost its regular form) is  $12\frac{3}{4}$  inches by  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; and is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in thickness. Broken reeds appear, in some parts of it: but if they were really mixed with the clay, it must be in a very small proportion, from the *very great* weight of the brick; and it appears more probable, that the reeds are nothing more than a part of those, on which the brick lay, whilst in its soft state; and that they were not intended to enter into its composition.

It will be seen that this has a very near agreement with Ives's report of the bricks in Aggarkuf; but this brick was not brought away by *his* party, for he says, p. 298, that they took only a *piece* of each sort; together with some of the reeds out of the *layers*, and some of the *cement*; which latter, he calls "*mud* or *slime*, mixed with broken reeds, as we mix hair with mortar."

Since the Babylonish bricks do not differ much in dimensions from a foot, may it not be, that they might be made from the standard of their *foot measure*? From the great weight of the bricks, it may be inferred that the workmen were very strong, able-bodied men.

exposed to the weather, or to inundations<sup>1</sup>. And by what we shall presently adduce, there appears to have been no necessity for an indiscriminate use of the bitumen.

M. Niebuhr says, that the large bricks, which were remarkably well-burnt, "had been laid in matter that had so small a degree of tenacity, that they were easily separated; and that, without breaking them." But on the contrary, in the ruin of the palace seen by P. Emanuel, "the construction was of so solid a nature, that it was scarce possible to separate them." He does not, however, appear to have described the *nature* of the cement. It was probably bitumen: but we are not possessed of sufficient knowledge on the subject, to enable us to determine on the degree of cohesion belonging to that substance, when employed as a cement for bricks; but there seems no doubt but that it was extremely cohesive<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On occasion of an inundation, about the year 1733, the foundations of the walls in Bagdad were covered with composition, of which bitumen made a part. (Ives, page 281.)

<sup>2</sup> The cement in the remarkable fortress of *Alkadder*, in the Chaldean Desert, according to M. Carmichael's description of it, appears to be bitumen. We know not the date of its construction.

The wall of Media (which shuts up the isthmus between the Euphrates and the Tigris, above Babylon), was built of burnt bricks, laid in *bitumen*. (Xenophon, Anab. lib. ii.) and the walls of *Perisabour*, in Babylonia, taken by Julian, were of the same materials: (Amm. Marc. lib. xxiv.) So that in those days, bitumen was much in use as a cement; but it appears to have been disused in succeeding times. None appears in the ruins of Ctesiphon, or in Bagdad.



As to the lime cement, very little of that appears to have been used. The crude material was at a distance ; and although Babylon might have been well supplied with fuel (as Balbi says that the *forests* below Hit still supply Bagdad with that article), yet a ready-prepared cement must have come to market much cheaper.

If we consider the natural state of things in Babylonia, and then inquire what is done in other countries, under similar circumstances, we may readily conceive what the nature of the ordinary buildings in ancient Babylonia was. This country, then, very much resembles Bengal in soil and appearance ; being, like that, formed of the depositions of great rivers. The soil of Bengal furnishes a material, which not only serves the purpose of making excellent bricks, but that of a useful kind of *cement* likewise. The ordinary brick houses are there built of a very small-sized brick, well burnt in the fire, and laid in *clay* wrought to a proper consistency ; but no lime mortar is used, otherwise than for *arches*, or for a *coping*, to prevent the rain from penetrating the wall ; and sometimes, though rarely, in laying foundations. This kind of construction is called *cutcha*, or *slight* ; in contradistinction to *pucca*, or *strong* ; which latter term is applied to masonry, built wholly with lime cement. The *cutcha* walls are made much thicker than the *pucca* ; and if plastered over, and kept dry at the top, will bear the requisite pressure, and stand as well, perhaps too, as long, as those built with lime mortar of the country ; which, by the bye, is some of the strongest in the

world. Moreover, few countries have so great a quantity of rain, as Bengal ; few less than Babylonia.

The nature of the mortar used in the ancient fabrics seen by Della Valle and by Ives, proves that the Babylonians built with clay mortar, as is practised by the Bengal people ; and by those of Bagdad, the modern Babylon. And this reminds us of a passage in Genesis (chap. xi. ver. 3.) relating to the building of the tower of Babel, (which might possibly have been a part of the *original* city of Babylon ; perhaps the very tower of Belus, so often mentioned, before it took the form described above.) It says, “ they had brick for stone, and *slime* for mortar.” Now, is not this particularly descriptive of one of the modes of building, in Babylonia ; and which, in essentials, resembles the Bengal cutcha ?

The bricks used in the Bengal *cutcha*, having been originally well burnt, and afterwards easily separated, are equal in quality to new bricks : and therefore are equally valuable, in the construction of other houses. But this is not the case of those used in the *pucca* work ; for they will more easily break than separate, as is said of those in the Babylonian palace<sup>3</sup>. If then, it be admitted, that a mode of building, similar to that of the *cutcha* in Bengal, obtained in Babylon, which from the above circumstances appears highly probable, we ought not to

<sup>3</sup> When the French again fortified Pondicherry, after the destruction of its works by the English, in 1761, they sawed the masses of brick-work, that had been blown up, into blocks of a convenient size for building, and used them accordingly. The bricks could not be separated.

wonder that we see so few remains of Babylon, *on the spot*. Had the materials of its buildings, in general, been so difficult to separate, as those of the palace seen by P. Emanuel, we should unquestionably find much greater remains of that celebrated city.

Herodotus, in his account of the building of Babylon, says, that the Babylonians intermixed reeds with the bitumen, used as cement, in building the walls; which were made of bricks baked in a furnace. We collect from his description, that these layers of reeds were introduced at certain distances, between the courses of bricks, in order to render the masonry more compact: the text says, at every *thirtieth* course. But we conceive that the number is corrupted (as may be perceived in other instances, in this and most other ancient authors), because M. Beauchamp says, that the *osiers*, or whatsoever was meant by the *reeds*, by Herodotus, are placed between every *two* layers of bricks, in the tower of *Belus*; and in other great ruins, higher up, he says that the osiers were only laid "*occasionally*." As this mode of building with reeds between the courses appears to have prevailed only amongst the ancient Babylonians, we may reasonably conclude, that *Aggarkuf* is of Babylonian origin, by its having this characteristic mark in it <sup>4</sup>. In this ancient, and very

<sup>4</sup> *Aggarkuf*, or *Akkarkuf*, is a shapeless mass of ruins, 126 feet in height, by 100 in diameter; and appears to be solid. It stands about nine miles to the westward of Bagdad, and consists entirely of sun-dried bricks, mixed with reeds. It is surrounded by ruins, and heaps of bricks. A drawing of it, with a descrip-

singular fabric, Mr. Ives, and others, found *reeds*, or *rushes*, at every 6th, 7th, or 8th course, of sun-dried bricks. No bitumen was used there; for Mr. Ives drew out the reeds from the wall with ease; a proof that they were not laid in any tenacious kind of cement; on the contrary, he says, that it was no other than "*mud or slime*, amongst which broken reeds were mixed; as we mix hair with mortar." These, he says, were as fresh, as if lately placed there; and being less subject to decay than the substance of the wall, they project beyond it, and are therefore fully open to investigation. M. Niebuhr says, they were *layers of rushes*, of two fingers breadth in thickness. Others call them *reeds*, of the kind of which coarse matting is made in that country; and all (but Mr. Ives) agree in saying that the reeds *form layers between the courses of brick-work*. But, it is certain, that Della Valle agrees with Ives in saying that *broken reeds* or *straw* were mixed with the clay cement, between the sun-dried bricks, which he saw; although he does not say they were in layers. This, however, was in the ruin of the tower of Belus. It can hardly be doubted, that by the *broken reeds*, Ives meant the same thing, which others meant by the *layers* of reeds: and it may also be suspected that what Della Valle saw, was originally the same kind of arrangement; only that

tion, is given by Mr. Ives, page 298; Europeans call it the tower of Babel. It might perhaps have been a royal sepulchre.

M. Niebuhr, p. 248, thought there was some resemblance between the ruin of Aggarkuf, and that before spoken of, in page 494.

the part he dug into might have been overturned, and the reeds thrown into that kind of disorder which would present the appearance he describes. Or, the disorder might have been caused by the very mode of digging itself.

It is not perhaps very easy to determine the use of the layers of reeds, where the cement was of so tenacious a quality, as bitumen is commonly reported to be. Nor can we reason with any effect, on a subject, on which we are so little informed. It may however be remarked, that as on different occasions, the layers were introduced at different distances from each other, each method had probably a reference to some particular object, or use, which we cannot understand. Thus, in the tower of Belus, M. Beauchamp says, that the *osiers* were placed at *every* course; but in some other great ruins, only *occasionally*: and in both these instances, the materials were bricks, baked in the *furnace*, and laid in *bitumen*. Again, we find reeds laid in *clay* mortar, between *sun-dried* bricks, at every 6th, 7th, or 8th course, in Aggarkuf: and also between the same kind of bricks in the tower of Belus; for Della Valle describes the same appearances there, as Ives does at Aggarkuf. So that the practice of using reeds, or some substitute for them, was almost universal. Had they been used *only* with clay mortar, we might have concluded that they were necessary, in order to bind together a mass that appeared to be too loosely held by the cement alone; but this supposition is done away, by the practice of using the same reeds with the cement of bitumen.

We can perceive a slight advantage in the use of the reeds, where mud cement was used ; and as this mode of building, no doubt, obtained long before the time when bitumen began to be used as cement in Babylonia, it is possible that the custom may have been blindly transferred to a case, where the reason of the thing should have rejected it ; as may be seen on other occasions. As the reeds added strength to a wall cemented with *clay*, they might expect the same effect from them, in one cemented with *bitumen* ; admitting that the reeds did not in any shape counteract the cohesive quality of the bitumen : but it is certain, that it does not appear to *require* any such aid. But after all, there may be a quality in bitumen, which may prevent its hardening, where the air is absolutely excluded, as in the middle of a wall ; and the reeds may have disposed it to harden. When exposed to the air, it is known to grow hard very soon.

Thus, we have endeavoured to establish the geographical position of Babylon ; and may safely conclude that it stood in the place assigned to it. Many circumstances concur to prove it : for the distances given by Herodotus from *Is*, or *Hit* ; and by Strabo, and the Theodosian Tables, from Seleucia ; the traditions of the Orientals concerning it ; their report of its latitude, and the name of the district round it, which is BABEL to this day ; together with the ruins, which are of no ordinary kind ; all conspire to place the site of ancient Babylon at, and about, the present town of Hillah ; and the particular ruin which may be taken for that of the tower of Belus

(which was said to stand in the centre of one of the divisions), at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  British miles to the NNW of Hillah.

The decline of Babylon is dated from the foundation of its rival, Seleucia, on the Tigris, by Seleucus Nicator (A. C. 293). In the time of Strabo, Seleucia was become a *larger* city than Babylon, the *greater part* of which was become a desert. He says, Alexander's successors disregarded Babylon; the Persians destroyed part of it; and the negligence of the Macedonians, added to the natural decay occasioned by time, completed its ruin; especially after Seleucus transferred the seat of empire to his new city. Strabo, p. 738.

Pliny, who appears to have written 70 or 80 years after Strabo, says, that it was *then* a *deserted* place; but that the temple (or the tower) of Belus was yet standing. In this, he differs from Strabo and Arrian; the first of whom says, that it was *destroyed* by Xerxes; the latter only says, that it was *out of repair*, and that Alexander wished to restore it. Strabo says, that 10,000 men would not have been able to remove the rubbish in two months; p. 738. We may therefore understand what they say with this limitation; that the tower of Belus was gone to decay, but was not absolutely destroyed, in their times. As to Babylon itself, we trace its rapid decline in what Strabo and Pliny say, at the distance of much less than a century from each other. And, as we have observed before, what Strabo says concerning it is a strong fact; and goes also towards proving that Babylon was a wonderfully large place.

Diodorus says, speaking of his own times, that

but a small part of Babylon remained inhabited ; the greater part of the tract within the walls being turned into fields : but this does not agree with Strabo ; and it is probable that Diodorus might not have been aware, how much of the area remained in the state of fields, from the beginning.

The history of the subsequent decline of Babylon, we are not acquainted with. Whilst the walls remained, it became (according to St. Jerome) a park, in which the Parthian kings took the diversion of hunting. This appropriation might, perhaps, preserve the walls to a later period, than in the usual course of things they would have remained. After that, it is probable, that as the walls decayed by time, depredations were also made on them ; and their materials gradually removed to build houses, and cities, and even palaces, in other situations.

The palace of Chosroes (*Tauk Kesra*) is supposed to have been built about the time of Justinian, and of Babylonish bricks<sup>5</sup> : and as Babylon had

<sup>5</sup> *Tauk Kesra* is a vast building, of nearly 300 feet in length in front, by 160 in depth ; having in the centre a *vaulted hall*, which is between 90 and 100 feet in height, to the top of the arch, whose span is more than 80. Its walls are of a degree of strength fully proportioned to the weight of the superstructure ; the piers of the vault being about 25 feet in thickness, and the front wall 19½. It is void of elegance, and gives the idea of a barbarous imitation of Grecian architecture. Mr. Ives has given a drawing and description of it in his *Voyage* (p. 288) : and Mr. Irwin (vol. ii. p. 351), who also speaks of the building, says, that the drawing is just in every respect, save that the arch is not flat enough ; for the drawing makes it semicircular. M. Beauchamp is very particular in his description of it (see



declined so much before the foundation of Ctesiphon, it is probable that the latter was built of the same bricks also. At the date of the foundation of Bagdad (A.D. 762), it is probable that Babylon was so totally gone to decay as to furnish bricks for the new city generally. And this is the idea of Della Valle, to whom the bricks in question were familiar. Hillah is allowed by all to have been built of these bricks : and, in effect, it stands on a part of the very site of ancient Babylon.

It must not be omitted, that Herodotus states, that Darius Hystaspes, on the taking of Babylon by the stratagem of Zopyrus, "*levelled the walls, and took away the gates* ; neither of which Cyrus had done before." Thalia, 159. But let it be remarked, that Darius lived about a century and half before Alexander ; in whose time the walls appear to have been in their original state ; or at least, nothing is said that implies the contrary. And it cannot be believed that if Darius had even taken the trouble to level 34 miles of so prodigious a rampart as that of Babylon, that ever it would have been rebuilt, in the manner described by Ctesias, Clitarchus, and others, who describe it at a much later period. Besides, it would have been quite unnecessary to level more than *a part* of the wall, in order to lay the place open : and in this way, probably, the historian ought to be understood.

European Magazine, 1792). D'Herbelot refers its foundation to Chosroes I. called also Nouschirwan, in the sixth century of our era. (Article Nouschirwan). He is called by the Arabs *Kesra* ; whence *Tauk Kesra*, or the *throne* (or *palace*) of Kesra.

Should the antiquities of Babylon become an object of curiosity amongst the learned, there is little doubt but that it might be abundantly gratified, if researches were diligently pursued for that purpose. The position and extent of the city walls might probably be ascertained, even at this day ; as, no doubt, both the rampart and ditch must have left visible traces, although inundations may have raised the general level of the country itself. The delineation and description of the site and remains would prove one of the most curious pieces of antiquity that has been exhibited in these times.

## SECTION XV.

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CONCERNING THE DISPOSAL OF THE TEN TRIBES OF THE JEWS, WHICH WERE CARRIED INTO CAPTIVITY, TO NINEVEH: COMMONLY CALLED THE FIRST CAPTIVITY.

*The Ten Tribes carried first to Nineveh, and then distributed in Media—The Afghans, by some, taken for these Tribes—Captivity of the Syrians of Damascus, who were carried to Kir, or Assyria—Captivity of the Two Tribes and half; and of the Remainder of the Ten Tribes—Conjecture respecting the Cities of Media, in which they were placed: Habor and Halah, (or Chabor and Chalacho) by the River Gozan; and other Cities of the Medes—Abhar taken for Habor; Halah (or Chalacho), for Chalcal; Kizil-Ozan, for the Gozan—Jews placed also in Rages and Ecbatana, according to Tobit—Tombs of Esther and Daniel—Ispahan, originally a Jewish city—The Circumstances of the FIRST CAPTIVITY wanting—Improbability of the Removal of the whole Nation of ISRAEL: from the greatness of their Numbers—those Numbers probably erroneous in the copies of the Scriptures; with the supposed foundation of that Error—Circumstances of the SECOND Captivity adduced, and applied to the FIRST, as a parallel case—Only certain Classes of the Judeans were removed: the body of the People remained—History of Tobit, throws much light on the Distribution and Settlement of the Jews in Media—Jews employed in Stations of Trust and Confidence by their new Masters—Permanency of Eastern Customs exemplified—The Policy of PETER the Great of Russia, in the Distribution of the Swedish*

*Captives, similar to that of the King of Assyria—Great Numbers of Jews found in Babylonia in aftertimes—Observations of Diodorus Siculus respecting the Jews.*

THE ten tribes of ISRAEL, or rather those amongst them, who were carried into captivity by the king of ASSYRIA, first to Nineveh, and afterwards distributed among the cities of MEDIA, have been sought after, without success, in almost every age. Some of the Asiatics have taken the AFGHAN nation for these expatriated Jews; either from a general resemblance of feature between them, or from prevailing traditions. But surely, the *whole* nation of Israel itself could not have been removed from Palestine into Assyria and Media: nor can it reasonably be supposed, that more than certain classes of persons, and those the least numerous, were thus transplanted; from the obvious difficulty attending the removal of so great a body of people.

It happens, unluckily, that the particular circumstances of the FIRST captivity (that is, of the TEN TRIBES) are not given, like those of the LAST (JUDAH and BENJAMIN); but if the inferences that may obviously be drawn from the history of the latter, may be allowed to apply to the former, they are clearly in favour of the above supposition. And since no detail of facts is given concerning the first captivity, it may perhaps be allowable to apply those which arise on what may be deemed a similar case.

There are several notices of a *general* kind, concerning the transplanting of the Israelites, from their own country to that of Assyria, &c. in the books of

the Kings and Chronicles, and also in Josephus. Their removal was accomplished, not by one, but by two distinct operations, and by different princes, at the distance of near 20 years from each other: besides which, the people of Damascus (not *Jews*, but *Syrians*), were also removed nearly at the same time with the first of the Israelites. The *two* and *half* tribes beyond (that is, to the *east* of) Jordan, namely, those of REUBEN, GAD, and the half tribe of MANASSEH, were first of all carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria: and, at the distance of the above interval, the remainder of the ten tribes, by Shalmaneser. But the captivity of the tribes of JUDAH and BENJAMIN, into Babylonia, by Nebuchadnezzar, about 115 years after the last, has nothing to do with the present question concerning the ten tribes; otherwise than as it seems apparently to furnish a parallel case, from whence some important conclusions may be drawn. And the carrying away of the DAMASCENES, is to be regarded in the same point of view <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Josephus says (Antiq. lib. x. ch. 9.) that the entire interval between the carrying away of the *ten*, and of the *two* tribes, was 130 years, 6 months, and 10 days. This account should rather relate to the first carrying away of the *two and half* tribes beyond Jordan; but even then, our systems of chronology allow 135 years for the interval.

The chronology of Dr. Usher, and of Sir Isaac Newton, allow the following dates for the events mentioned in this Section.

Captivity of the two and half tribes, and of the Syrians of Damascus, by Tiglath Pileser, before Christ	740
———— of the ten tribes, by Shalmaneser . . . . .	721
———— of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar . . . . .	606
Destruction of Jerusalem . . . . .	589
Decree of Cyrus for the return of the Jews . . . . .	536

These last were taken away by Tiglath Pileser <sup>7</sup>, about the year 740 B. C. : and was done, it appears, at the solicitation of the king of JUDEA, against those of ISRAEL and SYRIA, who threatened him. It is said (2 Kings xvi. 9.) that “the king of Assyria took Damascus, slew their king, Rezin, and carried the people captive to KIR;” by which the country of ASSYRIA is unequivocally meant <sup>8</sup>. But Josephus says (Antiq. ix. c. 12, 3.) that they were sent to UPPER MEDIA; that Tiglath Pileser sent a colony of Assyrians in their room; and that, at the same time, he afflicted the land of Israel, and took away many captives out of it.

Concerning the removal of the *two tribes and half*, whose country bordered on that of Damascus, about the same time, and by the same king, the

<sup>7</sup> Called also *Tilgath Pilneser*.

<sup>8</sup> Assyria, (that is, *Assyria proper*, the country situated beyond the Tigris, and south of Taurus; and of which Nineveh was the capital,) is often designed in the Scriptures by the name of KIR, or KEER. Besides the place just mentioned, it is found in Amos, ch. ix. ver. 7. “Have not I brought up the Assyrians from *Kir*?” Again, ch. i. ver. 5. “Syria shall go into captivity unto *Kir*.” In Isaiah, xxii. ver. 6, it is mentioned with *Elam*, intended for *Susa*, (and perhaps *Persia* also)—“*Kir* uncovered the shield.”

The name Kir is traceable at present in that country. The loftiest ridge of the Kurdistan mountains (*Carduchian*) is named *Kiarè*, according to M. Otter. The province adjacent is named *Hakiari* (Niebuhr); the *Kiouran* tribe of *Kourds*, inhabit the eastern part of Assyria (Otter); *Kerkook*, a large town, and other places of less consequence, have the prefixure *Ker* or *Kir* to them. (Niebuhr.) It is possible that the name of the *Carduchian* people may have had the same root.

following particulars may be collected. In 2 Kings, xv. ver. 29, it is said that "Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, took Ijon, and Abel-beth-Maacha, Janoah, Kadesh, and Hazor, and Gilead and Galilee; all the land of NAPHTALI, and carried them captive to Assyria." But in the account of the same transaction in 1 Chron. v. ver. 26, it is said that Tiglath Pileser "carried away the REUBENITES, the GADITES, and the half tribe of MANASSEH, and brought them to *Halah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river of *Gozan*, unto this day." The chronology of this event is given at 740 years B.C.<sup>9</sup>

Josephus, in relating the same transaction, Antiq. lib. ix. c. 11, 1, says, that Tiglath Pileser "carried away the inhabitants of Gilead, Galilee, Kadesh, and Hazor<sup>1</sup>, and transplanted them into his own kingdom;" by which, in strictness, Assyria should be understood: but it appears from the book of Tobit,

<sup>9</sup> It may be observed, that *Naphtali* is omitted in the latter reading; *i. e.* in the Chronicles; and this should seem to be the most correct; for Tobit, who was of the tribe of Naphtali, was carried away, not by Tiglath Pileser, but by Shalmaneser; if, as no doubt is the case, he is intended by Emanassar, in Tobit, ch. i: for Sennacherib was the successor of the latter, in Tobit; as of the former, in other parts of the Bible.

*Pul* is also mentioned in the same verse, (*i. e.* the 26th of the fifth chapter of the 1 Chron.) which alludes to an earlier transaction mentioned in 2 Kings, xv. ver. 19. and is to this effect; that *Pul* (the *Sardanapalus* of Herodotus, no doubt), king of Assyria, invaded Israel under the reign of Menahem, (B.C. 773,) when the latter gave to the king of Assyria 1000 talents of silver to insure his protection.

<sup>1</sup> Kadesh and Hazor were certainly in the country of Naphtali, and so far Josephus agrees with the book of Kings.

that MEDIA was also subject to him ; so that there is no contradiction.

We come next, in order, to the proper subject of the ten tribes.

In 2 Kings, xvii. ver. 6. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, is said to have carried away ISRAEL into Assyria, and to have “ placed them in *Halah* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan*, and in the cities of the *Medes*.” And this is repeated in chapter xxviii. ver. 11<sup>2</sup>. The chronology of this event is fixed at 721 B.C. or 19 years after the removal of the two and half tribes to the same country and cities. It is proper to remark, that although *Hara* is one of the places, to which the two and half tribes were sent, it does not occur amongst the places to which the ten tribes were said to be carried. Of this, more will be said in the sequel.

Josephus, speaking of the same event, says, (Antiq. ix. c. 14, 1.) that Shalmaneser took *Samaria* (that is, the capital of the Israelites), demolished their government, and transplanted ALL the people into MEDIA and PERSIA ; and that they were replaced by other people out of CUTHAH ; which, says he, (in section iii. of the same chapter) is the name of a country in Persia, and which has a river of the same name in it. Of the Cutheans, continues he, there were *five* tribes, or nations ; each of which had their own gods ; and these they brought with them into

<sup>2</sup> Usher writes these names, (we suppose from the Hebrew,) *Chalacho*, *Chabor*, and *Nehar Gozan*. And for *Hara*, he has *Haram*. Pages 64 and 68.



Samaria. These, he observes, were the people afterwards called SAMARITANS; and who, although they had no pretensions, affected to be kinsfolk to the JEWS. And hence, we may suppose, arose the violent animosity that subsisted between the two nations.

In lib. x. c. 9, 7, he repeats the substance of what he had said before; adding, that the Cutheans had formerly belonged to the *inner* parts of Persia and Media<sup>3</sup>.

In the Bible, 2 Kings, xvii. ver. 24, it is said, that the people brought to supply the place of the Israelites were from five places; *i. e.* *Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath*<sup>4</sup>, and *Sepharvim*: and also, that they worshipped as many different deities.

Thus, we have before us, the history of the removal of the ten tribes of Israel, at different periods; as also of the people of Damascus, to the same countries: all which was effected by the kings of ASSYRIA; who resided, or whose capital was at NINEVEH, at the side of the Tigris; and who possessed, in addition to ASSYRIA (by which is to be understood that country at large, as in pages 233 and 237), the country of MEDIA also. But, previous to the SECOND CAPTIVITY (or that of JUDAH) by the BABYLONIANS, these last had become masters of all Assyria; Nineveh had been destroyed; and Babylon become the capital of the empire of Assyria, thus enlarged by conquest.

<sup>3</sup> This is according to Mr. Whiston's translation.

<sup>4</sup> Can this be the Hamath, or *Hamah*, of Syria?

Before we proceed to set forth the circumstances of the *second* captivity, with a view to the illustration of the *first*, it will be necessary to adduce some general matter, in order to clear the way for the more effectual application of the circumstances in question. And first, we shall endeavour to ascertain the positions of the places to which the ten tribes were sent; that is, *Halah*, *Habor*, the river of *Gozan*, and the *cities* of the *Medes*: concerning which, it may be remarked, that Josephus does not appear to take any note, otherwise than by mentioning generally the *countries* of MEDIA and PERSIA; from which countries also, he says, the Cuthites were brought. So that he might possibly have supposed, that there was a complete change of country, between the two people; which, however, does not appear probable.

There is found in the country anciently named MEDIA<sup>5</sup> (now called AL JEBAL and IRAK AJAMI), in the remote northern quarter, towards the Caspian sea, and Ghilan, a considerable river named OZAN; or with the prefixure to it, KIZIL-OZAN<sup>6</sup>. *Kizil*

<sup>5</sup> By this is meant *Media Major* only, not the *two Medias*, collectively. See the distinction in page 357.

<sup>6</sup> The *Kizil-Ozan*, according to Mr. Hanway, Vol. i. p. 261, "is one of the most famous rivers in *Persia*." He spoke of the *empire* of *Persia*, at large; and was then on the road between *Ghilan* and *Hamadan*. The *Kizil-Ozan* is certainly one of the largest rivers of that tract.

Olearius (lib. v. and vii.) writes it *Kisilosein*; and describes it as a very rapid, and considerable river.

Della Valle writes it *Chizil Uzen* (Vol. iv. Letter 5).

This river springs from the country anciently named *Matiene*

signifies *red*, and has doubtless been added by the Turkish hordes, who apply this term to other rivers; for instance, the *Halys* is named *Kizil-Ermak*; and that branch of the *Oxus*, which reaches the Caspian sea, is named *Kizil*. There is also found a city named *Abhar*, or *Habar*, situated on a *branch* of the river *Ozan*; and this city has the reputation of being exceedingly ancient. There is, moreover,

(between *Tebriz* and *Hamadan*), and taking its course eastward, falls into the SW part of the Caspian sea; penetrating, in its way, the great ridge of mountains that divides *Media* from the *Caspian* provinces.

From the upper level of *Media*, it descends with a rapid and furious course, through a frightful chasm, which its waters have worn, through the base of the mountains, which is many miles in width; when, having reached the lower country of *Ghilan*, it glides with a navigable course to the sea. Previous to its descent, it collects the waters of *Abhar* and *Casbin*, &c. under the name of *Shah-rud*, and the collective waters take the name of *Isperrud*, and *Sefit-rud*, or the *white* river; perhaps, from its long continued foaming course through the mountains; for Della Valle says, that its waters themselves have a *reddish* tinge.

Travellers describe with horror, the road which leads along the side of the chasm; and which is the only one, practicable for loaded beasts, from *Ghilan* to *Ispahan*. It is generally excavated from the steep rocky cliff which impends over the dreadful gulf below: and along it, the traveller holds loosely, the bridle of his beast, whilst he leads him along, fearing to be drawn after him, should a false step be made. See Robert Bruce, Olearius, Hanway, &c. This chasm is about 180 miles to the westward of the Caspian strait.

It may be remarked, that Delisle has a district of the name of *Ouzan*, near the river in question; and that Olearius has *Utzan*, classed with *Chalcal*, &c. in *Aderbigian*; which province is separated from *Al Jebal*, by the river *Ozan*.

bordering on the river Ozan itself, a district of some extent, and of great beauty and fertility, named *Chalcal*; having within it, a remarkably strong position of the *same name*, situated on one of the hills, adjoining to the base of the neighbouring mountains, which separate it from the province of Ghilan. Perhaps we may be allowed to regard *these*, as the river of GOZAN, and the HAVOR, and HALAH, of the Scriptures. Both of the latter are said to be *by* the river of Gozan, in 2 Kings, xvii. ver. 6. *Halah*, as it appears in the Vulgate, is written *Chalacho* by Dr. Usher; which is not much unlike *Chalcal*; and considering the various accidents that may have corrupted the writing of the one, or the other of them, it is not unlikely to be the place meant. *Habor*, he writes *Chabor*. The Asiatics allow to the city of Abhar, a great antiquity; and why should not its name have remained, as well as those of Babylon, and Nineveh; which are known, and familiarly applied, to the respective situations of those celebrated cities? The name Ozan, too, which comes so near to Gozan, being so closely connected in geography with both, gives strength to the supposition<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> The name of ABHAR is variously written. It is *Abhar*, by Abulfeda (Reiske's translation); *Abher*, Herbelot; *Abar*, Hanway; *Habar*, Taverniere; *Abher*, Della Valle; *Ebher*, Chardin; and *Ebbeher*, Olearius.

Abhar appears in the Tables of Nasereddin and Ulugbeig. Chardin speaks of its antiquity; so does Taverniere. Chardin also says, that it is a small city, situated in a delightful country, well watered. Also, that Abhar, in coming from the west, is

*Hara*, to which, as well as to *Habor*, and *Halak*, the *two and half tribes* were sent, is written *Haram* in Usher. This name, we cannot supply; but there is a district named *Tarom*, or *Tarim*, bordering also on the *Ozan*, and occupying the space between those of *Abhar* and *Chalcal*. If it can be supposed that the initial has been changed, no place appears more likely to be the one intended <sup>8</sup>.

Rages, the modern Rey, a city in which others of the Jews resided (according to the testimony of Tobit, who had himself visited them, chapter i. ver. 14), stood in the same quarter of Media. In Ecbatana, by the same authority, there were other Jews settled <sup>9</sup>: and the Oriental geographers assure us,

the first place where the Persian language is spoken. From thence eastward to India, all is Persian; to the west, Turkish.

A small river passes through Abhar, and joins the *Kizil-Ozan*, which latter is about 45 miles from Abhar.

Concerning *Chalcal*—we learn from Olearius, in his geographical description of Persia, (lib. v.) that *Chalcal* is one of the districts of *Aderbigian*. He also passed through it, in his way from Ardebil to Casbin (same book), and fixes its situation. Della Valle also passed through it; and describes the position of the strong post of *Chalcal*. Vol. iv. Lett. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Della Valle (in the same Letter) gives the position of the district of *Tarom*, or *Taron*. Otter, Vol. i. 188, *et seq.* quotes the *Turkish geographer* concerning *Tarim*, situated at one journey to the north of *Sultanny*; and also Abulfeda, who places it eight journies to the eastward of Tebriz, or Tauris. These notices are decisive of its position.

<sup>9</sup> It has been said, in p. 360, that *Hamadan* stands on the site of *Ecbatana*. M. Otter says, Vol. i. p. 182, that the report (of the people of the country) is, that it was ruined by Nabuchodonosor, whom the Orientals name Bukhetunnusre: and that they

that a town, which is now either a suburb, or become a part, of the city of Ispahan, was anciently peopled by Jews. So that we have here every reasonable testimony, concerning the positions of *certain* of the *cities* of the *Medes*, in which the **Jews** were placed; and perhaps, the same may also be admitted respecting the identity of *Habor, Halah,* and *Gozan*.

The following are the notices respecting the Jewish town at the site of the present city of Ispahan; and of the planting of a Jewish colony in it. M. Otter says, Vol. i. p. 203, "the report of the Persians is, that on the original foundation or establishment of Ispahan, it included the site of four villages, named *Kearran, Keousek, Joubary,* and *Deshet*; and that these villages were so ancient as the times of the kings *Tamouris* and *Jemchid* (whose reigns, Sir William Jones fixes in the 8th

shew the tomb of **ESTHER** at that place, to which the Jews proceed in pilgrimage. He also speaks of the great degree of cold there, in winter; but he visited it in summer, when the climate was remarkably pleasant. The mountain of *Elwend* (*Orontes* of the Greeks), situated at one league from it, is always covered with snow. It may be recollected, that *Ecbatana* was the *summer* residence of the Persian kings.

As the tomb of **ESTHER** is shewn at *Hamadan*, or *Ecbatana*, so is that of **DANIEL**, at *Sus*, taken for *Susa*. (Otter, Vol. ii. p. 53.)

Josephus speaks of Daniel's tower; (at *Susa*, according to St. Jerome's copy, though other copies have *Ecbatana*.) This tower was the burial place of the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia; and, from the exquisite nature of its architecture and materials, remained in a state of preservation in the time of Josephus. (Antiq. x. c. 11.)

and 9th centuries before Christ). M. Otter adds, that “ *Kaikobad* having resolved to establish his capital here, drew together a vast concourse of people; and that during the reign of *Bukhetunusre*, or *Nabuchodonosor*, a great number of Jews came and settled themselves in the quarter called, to the present time, *JAHOUDIA* <sup>1</sup>.”

Abulfeda also speaks of the Jewish town at Ispahan (article *Belad al Gabali*). He says, that *Bochtansar*, when he destroyed the city of Jerusalem, sent the inhabitants to this place, who built themselves a town, which took the name of *JAHUDIAH*. That *Gajjong* was the name of the most ancient of the towns or villages on the site of Ispahan; and that Jahudiah was built at the distance of two miles from it. Also, that in process of time, *Gajjong* declined, whilst the Jewish town increased; particularly by the accession of Mahomedan tribes. And finally, that the name Jahudiah remained. It is certain, however, that we have not been able to find this name in any of the writings of modern travellers: and it may be, that it is now no longer to be found, but in books. Abulfeda wrote in the 14th century <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This information appears, from Golius, to have been collected from *HAMDALLA*. Golius writes the names of the four villages, from the Arabic original, *Kirán*, *Kozec*, *Gioubára*, and *Derdext*. (See the notes on Alfraganus, p. 216.) Golius also quotes *JAKUTUS*, who speaks of the Jewish city on the site of Ispahan.

<sup>2</sup> The *Gajjong*, or *Gajja*, of Reiske's Abulfeda, is written *Gieyum* by Golius, from the Arabic of Jakutus.

These historical, or traditionary notices, point strongly towards the establishing of a fact, which is but slightly mentioned in the Scriptures; although the notices in question confound together the two captivities of the Jews: by assigning to the captives brought by Nebuchadnezzar, to Babylonia, the place of those brought by Shalmaneser and others to Media. *Kaikobad*, according to Sir W. Jones, reigned in the beginning of the seventh century before Christ, which was about a century *after* the transplanting of the ten tribes to Media. But notwithstanding these differences, there is much internal evidence contained in the notices; perhaps more, than if the particulars had corresponded with the Bible history; for then, they might have been supposed to be copied from it. And, on the whole, this testimony respecting the settlement of the Jews in *Ispahan* (which, it is to be recollected, is situated within ancient Media), together with the name of the suburb or city, *Jahudia*, appear to be strong circumstances; particularly when combined with the above notices respecting the *cities* of the *Medes*.

In effect then, we find the Jews scattered over the country of Media, (then a part of the dominion of *Assyria*) from *Ecbatana* to *Rages*; and from *Abhar* and the river *Ozan* to *Ispahan*. And having thus attempted to point out the places of residence of the Jews, carried away in the FIRST CAPTI-

D'Herbelot appears to consider Jahudiah as a different place from Ispahan, although situated in the same province of Media. See the article *Esfahan* in D'Herbelot.



VITY, we shall next inquire, whether it is probable that the *whole nation* of Israel was transplanted to Nineveh and Media; or that certain classes of people only, and those the least numerous, were carried away?

It has been already remarked, that there are no particulars given, respecting the carrying away of ISRAEL to Nineveh, as of JUDAH to Babylon: and that we may, perhaps, be allowed to consider both as parallel cases; and thence infer, that the conduct of the king of Nineveh, was much the same with that of the king of Babylon!

Josephus says (see above, page 517), that ALL the nation of Israel was taken away, and their places supplied by the *Cutheans*. The Bible (2 Kings, ch. xvii. and xviii.), leaves us to understand the same, if taken literally: that is, that Shalmaneser "carried ISRAEL away *into* or *unto* Assyria;" and that people were brought from divers countries, and "placed in the cities of Samaria, *instead* of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof."

Certainly, if these accounts are to be taken *literally*, we must suppose no other, than that the *whole nation* was carried away; which supposition, however, occasions some difficulty, not only from the numbers to be carried away, but from the obvious difficulty of *feeding* by the way, and of finally placing in a situation where they could be *fed*, so vast, and in a great degree, so useless a multitude, when removed to a strange country. Where-soever they came, they must either have been

starved themselves, or they must *virtually* have displaced nearly an equal number of the king's subjects, who were already settled, and in habits of maintaining themselves, and probably of aiding the state<sup>3</sup>.

They were said to be carried to Nineveh. This residue of the ten tribes (that is, seven and a half) cannot be estimated lower than at two-thirds of the population of Nineveh itself. And it may be asked, who *fed* them, in their way across Syria and

<sup>3</sup> In the enumeration of the tribes of JUDAH and ISRAEL, in 2 Samuel, xxiv. there were said to be, of fighting men 800,000, in Israel, 500,000 in Judah. In 1 Chron. xxi. there is this difference, that there are given, respectively, 1,100,000, and 470,000. Take the mean of the two accounts, we have 1,435,000 fighting men. According to the *data* furnished by the actual enumeration of a parish in Dorsetshire, by that WORTHY CITIZEN, and TRUE PATRIOT, WILLIAM MORTON PITT, Esq. the persons *capable* of bearing arms, appear to form about a *fourth* part of a community. Consequently, there should have been near  $5\frac{3}{4}$  millions of people in Palestine: but as the number of square miles in that country hardly exceed 7250, there must have been some mistake in the copying of the original document. It appears, that the most populous country in Europe, that is, (or was) the Netherlands, has no more than 200 persons on each square mile; and taking this proportion for Palestine, there could only have been 1,450,000, or less than a million and half. Is it not probable then, that the numbers given, were those of the *whole* population?

Were we to avail ourselves of the Bible statement, and take between  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 millions, for the people of Israel; and of these, three-fourths for the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  tribes carried away by Shalmaneser, that is, more than  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions, we might well rest the argument there. But even reduced to the more probable number of 700,000 and upwards, how was such a multitude to be provided for? Nor is this stated to be an act of *necessity*, but of *choice*!

Mesopotamia, to Nineveh? And admitting an exchange of the *Cutheans* for the *Israelites*, on so extended a scale, as to include the agricultural and working people of all classes, a sovereign who should make such an exchange, where an interval of space, of near 1000 miles, intervened, would at least discover a different kind of policy from that which, in our conception, was followed by the king of Assyria.

The Tartar, or other Nomadic tribes, which either transport themselves to a distant country, or have been transplanted by others, are in a predicament totally different from agricultural tribes. With the former, the business of life goes on, by the way; and nothing is lost by a removal, which leaves nothing behind, and places every thing valuable in prospect. Most of the people whom Tamerlane transplanted, were Tartars; and the Eretrians and Bœotians were very few in number <sup>4</sup>.

We shall now state the particulars that are given, respecting the Babylonish captivity.

It appears then, that Nebuchadnezzar carried away the *principal* inhabitants, the *warriors*, and *artisans* of every kind; and these classes *only*; leaving behind, the *husbandmen*, the *labourers*, and the poorer classes, in general; that is, the great body of the people <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Lands* were assigned to the *Eretrians*, by the king of Persia; as appears by the petition of Apollonius to Bardanes, to restore them. Nothing of this kind is said concerning the *Israelites*.

<sup>5</sup> "And he (Nebuchadnezzar) carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths; none re-

May it not be concluded, that much the same mode of conduct was pursued by the king of Nineveh, as by him of Babylon; although it is not particularized? It cannot be supposed that either Media or Assyria wanted husbandmen, although they might want *merchants, men of science, and of letters, and artisans*: and that they *did* want certain of the classes which were carried into captivity, will be made evident, by their employing some of the captives in situations of trust and high command.

The story of TOBIT throws much light on the condition of the captive Israelites in Assyria and Media: and it is very curious to remark, how the habitual industry, perseverance, adroitness, and knowledge of business, possessed by the Jews, raised

mained, save the poorest sort of people of the land." 2 Kings, xxiv. ver. 14.

"And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all that were strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon." Ver. 16.

Afterwards, on the destruction of Jerusalem by the same Babylonians, on occasion of the revolt of Zedekiah, it is said that "the remnant of the multitude" that were in the *city* was carried away, and that "the poor of the land were left, to be vine-dressers and husbandmen." Chap. xxv. ver. 11 and 12. Gedaliah was left ruler over them.

On occasion of the murder of this Gedaliah, the Jews fled into Egypt, fearing the anger of the Babylonians, who might have imputed the massacre to the Jewish people in general, although innocent. These Jews, upon the taking of Egypt, were also carried into captivity. And such, says Josephus, was the end of the Hebrew nation.

them to stations of trust under their new masters ; and gave them opportunities of enriching themselves. Tobit and Achiacarus, his kinsman, both held employments, either in the state, or in the royal household, or both ; under the kings of Assyria, in Nineveh. Tobit was amongst the captives taken away by Shalmaneser, from the remainder of the ten tribes left on *this* side Jordan, after the two and half had previously been carried away by Tiglath Pileser : and was himself of the tribe of NAPHTALI. The following is an abstract of his history. (See the book of Tobit.)

He was made *purveyor* to Shalmaneser (or Enemessar) ; and, we must suppose, grew rich ; for he *left in trust* with a friend at *Rages*, in Media, ten talents of silver. But Shalmaneser dying, was succeeded by Sennacherib, whose wanton cruelty to the captive Jews, heightened by the failure of his attempt on Judea, occasioned Tobit to fall under his displeasure : his property was forfeited, and he was compelled to flee from Nineveh, through fear of his life. The tyrant, however, was quickly dispatched, and was succeeded by his son Esarhaddon, (*Sarchedonus* of Tobit,) who, like his grandfather Shalmaneser, appears to have understood the value of the services of the Jews ; and to have regarded them with a favourable eye. ACHIACARUS, the nephew of Tobit, was appointed to a high office in the government ; and by his intercession, Tobit returned in peace to Nineveh, and was there supported by him. After this, it appears that he went into *Elymais* ; that is, we suppose, to *Susa* ; but neither the

errand, nor the time of his stay, are mentioned. It is probable, that, as Esarhaddon united the kingdom of Babylon to that of Nineveh, &c. he made use of Susa, as his *winter* capital, as was the practice of the Persian monarchs, afterwards; and that Tobit accompanied his nephew, who followed the king, as a matter of course. .

After this, we find him again at Nineveh (see chapter xi. ver. 16.); from whence he dispatches his son Tobias, to Rages, by way of Ecbatana, for the money. At the latter place, he marries his kinswoman, Sara; and sends a messenger on to Rages. The mode of keeping and delivering the money, was exactly as at present, in the East. Gabael, who kept the money in trust, "brought forth *bags*, which were *sealed up*, and gave them to him;" and received in return, "the *hand-writing*," or acknowledgment, which Tobias had taken care to require of his father, before he left Nineveh. The money, we learn, (chap. i. ver. 14.) was left in *trust*, or as a *deposit*, and not on *usury*; and as it may be concluded, with Tobit's *seal* on the bags. In the East, in the present times, a bag of money passes (for some time at least) currently from hand to hand, under the authority of a banker's seal, without any examination of its contents.

*Two* camels were taken from Ecbatana to Rages, for the money. The ten talents of silver, which should have been equal in weight, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, to about 940 lb. avoirdupois, might be conveniently carried on two camels. Only two persons accompanied them, which shews that the

country must have been very quiet; since the distance between Ecbatana and Rages is upwards of 200 of our miles: and, it may be observed, that Tobit regarded Media as a more settled country than Assyria; which is shewn as well in his own conduct, as in his advice to his son.

This history of Tobit shews, not only that the Jews were distributed over Media, but that they filled situations of trust and confidence. And, on the whole, it may be conceived, that the persons brought away from the land of Israel, were those from whom the conqueror expected useful services, in his country, or feared disturbances from, in their own. In effect, that the classes were much the same, with those brought away from Judea, by the king of Babylon: and that the great body of the people remained in the land, as being of use there, but would have been burthensome, if removed: consequently, that those who look for a *nation* of Jews, transplanted into Media, or Persia, certainly look for what was never to be found; since no more than a select part of the nation was so transplanted.

In the distribution of such captives, it might be expected that a wise monarch would be governed by two considerations: first, to profit the most by their knowledge and industry; and, secondly, to place them in such a situation, as to render it extremely difficult for them to return to their own country. The geographical position of Media appears favourable to the latter circumstance, there being a great extent of country, as well as deserts, and deep rivers between; and it can scarcely be otherwise than that

the Jews, by their communication with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, together with their own habits of life, were in possession of many branches of knowledge, that had been but imperfectly communicated to the Medes.

One cannot help adverting to the policy which led Peter the Great of Russia to place the Swedish captives in Siberia, in preference to the more civilized parts of his empire; namely, that his subjects in that remote part might profit by the superior knowledge of the arts of life, possessed by these captives. Moreover, by the wide and dreary tract of country which was placed between them and their homes, they would find it impracticable to return; at the same time, that, by remaining at large, their minds were left more at ease, than if subject to a more rigorous confinement nearer home.

One circumstance appears very remarkable. Although it is positively said, that only certain classes of the Jews were carried to Babylon at the latter captivity; and also, that on the decree of CYRUS, which permitted their return, the principal part *did* return, (perhaps 50,000 in all,) yet so great a number was found in Babylonia, in aftertimes, as is really astonishing. They are spoken of by Josephus, as possessing towns and districts in that country, so late as the reign of *Phraates*, about 40 years before Christ. They were in great numbers at Babylon itself; and also in Seleucia and Susa. Their increase must have been wonderful; and in order to maintain such numbers, their industry and gains also must have been great. But it must also have been,



that a very great number were disinclined to leave the country in which they were settled, at the date of the decree. Ammianus Marcellinus, so late as the expedition of Julian, speaks of a Jews' town at the side of one of the canals between the Euphrates and Tigris<sup>6</sup>.

The numbers of *Jews* reported by *Benjamin of Tudela* (in the 12th century,) to have resided in the different cities in the East, are so much beyond probability, that it may be supposed he included the *whole* population of the cities, and not that of the Jews alone.

We shall conclude this inquiry with a short view of the report of Diodorus Siculus, concerning the Jews.

It appears that he either wrote, or intended to write, a history of the wars against the Jews, (by the kings of Syria, we suppose,) but nothing more appears than a fragment of his xlth book, stating his intention; and giving also (probably as an introduction,) a short history of the origin of the Jewish nation, as a body of strangers in Egypt, of their expulsion from Egypt, and of their settlement in Judea; agreeing in the principal events of their history, with that of their legislator, MOSES; but with a far different colouring. In another fragment (of his xxxivth book,) he gives a short account of their subjection by Antiochus *Epiphanes*, and of his indecent profanation of the temple and altar. And again, in his first book, c. 7, he touches slightly on the subject of their religion, and institutes, in common with those

<sup>6</sup> Ann. Marcel. lib. xxiv.

of the Egyptians, Cretans, Getes, &c. From these passages, collectively, it appears, that he considered the Jews, although not as a popular, or an amiable, people, yet as a very *wonderful* people; whether in respect of their institutes, which kept them distinct from the rest of the world; of their municipal laws, which accomplished the purposes of useful education, and frugal habits (the foundation of a vast population, considering the general sterility of their country); of their unalterable firmness and patience under misfortunes, or of their obstinate bravery in combat. But he observes, that through the great change in empires that had taken place, and the consequent and unavoidable admixture of the Jews with foreign nations, many of the ancient laws and customs of the Jews had been changed or laid aside. If this could be said, in the days of Augustus, how different must the Jews of our days be from those of remote times, when they appear to us unlike all the rest of the world; and a kind of **STANDING MIRACLE!**

END OF VOL. I.

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